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MILITIA COMMUNIST PARTY

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It has two organs; the "Party-Affairs Commission," and the "Political Section."

(A) Party-Affairs Commission

As the "Local Party Commission" has a number of lower commissions under it, this commission has its lower commissions in all the Army Units, ranging from the Army Headquarters to a Battalion. A Company has a branch (commission) and a squad for a smaller unit; smaller than a squad has a group. The system of these organs is similar to that of commissions under a "Local Party," and Communists under the command of these commissions are requested above all to maintain military disciplines. They are also expected to "love" the people, and to cooperate indirectly with Communists in local administration.

The qualifications for the membership of the Militia Communist Party are almost the same as those of a "Local Party member." But military training and inculcating of theoretical Communism are marked features of their education. They become more Communistic than those Communists of other organizations, as they engage in battles more frequently, and more directly than those members of the Local Parties, or the like. Accordingly, the term of apprenticeship is very often shortened, and the percentage of the successful applicants is high. Usually 99% of the soldiers above the

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rank of a company commander, becomes full members of the party.

Statistics in a military report (Submitted to some Japanese Army Headquarters in North China) showed interesting figures in this connection. The report said that about 70%, (the figures might have been 68%, I do not remember exactly) of those wounded, and 85% of those seriously wounded were full Communists, and 55% of Regular Red Army, and 35 to 40% of the Irregular Red Army were full members.

(B) Political Section

Each Army Headquarters has a Political Section, (Before the "Policy of Combining Military and Political Organs" were established, the Army Headquarters and the Political Section were called by the one name, "The Army and Political Headquarters.") Recently it was ranked as an equal organ with the "Staff", and "Adjutants Section," and now under the direct control of the Army Commander.

A Political Section is headed by a "Section Chief", and under the "Chief," there are sometimes several assistant-chiefs who help his work.

For example; The chief of the Political Section in the Fifth Division is (任 俊 武), who is also an assistant Political Commissioner of the Political Bureau, and the assistant-chief is (張 掛 本). According to an information not yet confirmed, (陳 某) is also said to be an assistant-chief, but proclamation papers that has come to hand by the end of the war did not bear his name.

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The Section has five departments; Organization, Propaganda, Public Welfare, the Anti-Espionage, and the Youth Departments. If the Political Section is entrusted with management of some affairs of a Local Party, a Political Department or the like is established. A Political Commissioner ranks equally with an Army Commander. But as a matter of fact, Political Commissioners are far more influential than Army Commanders. In respect of rank, an Army Commander, a Political Commissioner, and a Chief of the Political Section are all equal. (Hence the "Triumvirate Policy"). A Political Commissioner is outside of the Militia Communist Party, and yet he is legally authorized to take part in controlling the Militia Communist Party.

To a unit smaller than a Regiment, a Political Propagandist, or a member in charge of Political Affairs, are dispatched. In a Battalion there is a Political Instructor; and in a Company, a Political Tutor.

A Political Instructor, ranks equally with a Battalion Commander; and a Political Tutor, with a Captain. Even giving a simple military order needs signatures of the military commander, ~~who is~~ the Political Commissioner, and the Chief of the Political Section. If one of the three fails to sign, the order has no legal effect. It is the same with any order of other nature. An order of a Battalion Commander without a counter-signature of a Political Instructor, or an order of a

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Company leader, without a Political Tutor's signature, would be ineffective. Any simple receipt or an order for payment of a Company has no legal effect if it does not bear signatures of the Captain, the Political Tutor, and the paymaster of the unit. According to a pamphlet entitled "Commander on Provisional Administration Acts", published by the Political Section of the 18th Army, the duties of Political-Affairs Communist are as follows:

A Political Instructor and a Political Tutor should, according to the instructions of the Political Bureau, administer the same sorts of Political Affairs as the Political Section are in charge of, and are expected to help and cooperate with the secretary. (A Party Affair Secretary, in a Battalion; a Branch Secretary in a Company). Therefore, there is no marked revision made.

And a Political Affairs Member must not only be a branch member of the party, but also he should know military affairs, as well, and should be the core of the unit, and should participate in military drills, even though he might be very busy in his political business, and should devote himself to cultivating his leadership.

Before the ^revision of the regulation, there were not requested to keep so close touch with the military activities of the party, but the revised one put much stress on developing their military abilities.

When a large army unit stages a campaign, in which the unit is divided into smaller units, so as to wage guerilla war in several areas, the "Army Commander, the Chief of the

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Political Section and Political Commissioners go to different areas; ^{every} ~~each~~ ^{of} one of them directing political as well as military troops movements.

For example, let us see how they were distributed in the "Spring Expansion Movement" in 1946. (李先念) Commander of the 5th Division and Political Commissioner, took the command of the 13th Brigade, and other smaller troops, from the 26th military region, with the intention of strengthening the (四望山) Base, and reoccupying the last bases in the (桐柏, 大悟) Districts. (任质斌) Chief of the Political Section and Assistant Political Commissioner, was dispatched to the 15th Brigade, and directing Communistic Movements for expanding the Sovietized Areas in (襄河) and (武漢) Delta Districts. (張振方) the Assistant Chief of the Political Section commanded the 14th Brigade and directed the political movements in (鄂北) District, and supported the Southward advance of the 349th Brigade. Later his troops moved eastwards by way of (黃梅) and (蕪湖) and returned to (大悟山) where, in a position similar to that of the Political Commissioner, he strengthened the lines of communications and solidified these districts that were newly occupied by the troops then advancing south. The 359th Brigade had (王遠益), of the Central Political Commission so that the 5th Division sent no leader, to (鄂北) Districts.

The military talents showed by those non-soldier leaders in the campaign were very excellent. Considering that their provisional Administration Act demanded the lower class

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political leaders to develop their military abilities, it seems that we must reconsider the military tactics of those non-soldier Communist members.

A Political-Affairs Member who has several political stormers under him, but they have no authorized commanding power, are nothing more than auxiliaries.

In hospitals and communications depots, political cooperator are in charge of Political Affairs in these establishments, and play a role of political affairs member in other military units.

The expansion of the "C. C. P." during the Sino-Japanese War was remarkable. There is no doubt about it, but we must bear in mind that the character of the ^{Party}~~"Poverty"~~ has undergone an essential change, especially since the "Encouraging Three Discipline."

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THE CHARACTER OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

1) Some Hints on the Character of the C. C. Party.

There are many who do not feel difficulty in explaining the actual characters of the Communism or the character of the Communist Party, but there are few who can describe and explain the essence of the "Chinese Communist Party", and its theories. They often say it is difficult to understand China or the Chinese, but it is generally admitted that it is almost impossible to understand the Chinese Communist Party. The chief reason of it is that, the idea of Communism scarcely seems to have any relation with the theories of the ^C. C. Party.

It is so much so, that one often thinks that the C. C. Party has not at all Communistic theories, and that it is only a political power, and agonistic to the Kuoming-Tang, and that its armies are nothing more than bandits that are found in any part of China, ~~and~~ ⁱⁿ every period of political history of China, ~~or part of China,~~

There are, I admit, a few political commentators who see things differently. But even these commentators disagree in understanding the character of the C. C. Party.

Many books have been written on the C. C. Party, but most of them only deal with the superficial history of the Party. Almost no books have been written upon their agricultural policies nor their guerrilla tactics. So that, when one comes in contact with some form of Communists' influence, almost in all cases, one cannot make any

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use of one's knowledge one got from books on Communism.

Then, where is the way to understand the character of the C. C. Party?

As described in the end of the preceeding chapter, the character of the C. C. Party has undergone several great changes since its formation. And if we put stress of our study on the process of its changes, we shall have to study the history of the attitude of Soviet Russia toward China, and the ways Soviet Russia has been directing the activities of the C. C. Party, as well as, the history of the Communistic theories of the C. C. Party.

Again, if we want to study their policies and their tactics, we must trace the political conflicts they have waged with various political powers, and see their ways of making use of, and adopting themselves to peculiar political situations in an area.

In order to get a complete idea of the C. C. Party, it is necessary, we believe, to follow both lines of study at the same time. (As we have only poor stock of reference books, reports, statistics, or the like, we shall have to follow the second line mainly.)

(2) The History of the Changes in the Character of the C. C. Party, and the Position of the C. C. Party in Soviet Russia's World Revolution Movements

It is essential to know the following facts to understand the apparent departure of their actions from their theories.

First of all, readers should remember that it was not Marxism, but Marx-Leninism that the Russian Revolution owed its success. At the end of the World War I, China, than

undergoing a great social and political changes, was greatly stimulated by the Russian Revolution. The Marxism Studying Society established by (李大钊) and (陈独秀) at Peking, 1918, which was the first Communistic group in the history of the Communist movements in China. And it must be remembered that those organized ~~were~~ ^{were} motivated by the success of the Russian Revolution.

Even these days, up until the time the C. C. Party broke with the Kuoming-Tang, the formula for Chinese Revolution had be remodeled after that Russian Revolution. That is to say, the object of the Chinese Revolutionaries was to set up the Proletarian Government, and to materialize Socialistic Policies.

After the death of Lenin, Stalin came into power. He knew well that Radicalism was necessary in the early stages of the revolution; while in later stages, on the contrary, it was impossible to maintain Radicalism. He also understood that it was impossible to Sovietize the whole world in a short period, by applying the formula of the Russian. ~~But with the influential persons or heads of bandit troops in local districts, the proceedings are a little different. They can join the party far more easily than the ordinary people, but they often serve only as decorations of the party.~~

~~New Communists must study Marx-Leninism and () ism, and must receive training for various communistic movements at schools, or Communist training institutions. They are given ranks according to the results they show in the course of education.~~

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* Revolution to the revolutionary movement in other capitalistic countries. He also realized that a new formula, taking in fair account of the history and racial characteristics of a nation, must be adopted. Thus "Nationalistic Socialism", because their slogan. As one of the results, immediately after the separation of the C. C. Party from the Kuo-Ming-Tang, they expelled ().

About that time the C. C. Party gave up the Industrial Revolution, and turned their main object to the Agricultural Revolution, ^{the} ~~the~~ Political Power went from (李立三, 向忠發) to (陳紹禹), and then from (陳) to (毛澤東), a born farmer. And the golden day of (王明) Regime had come. It seemed then, the whole Communist Movements had beared fruit. But under the pressure of the Kuo-Ming-Tang, the Communists had to move their central organs to (延安) in (陝西省), and again they had become only local government. But by the success of the (西安) plot, they started a new cooperation with the Kuoming-Tang, and forced China to go to war with Japan.

The C. C. Party clashed with the Kuo-Ming-Tang for the second time in order to take chance in the conflict, but they felt no great impediments in the pressure of the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang could not concentrate its forces powerful enough to effect an eventual blow on the C. C. Party. Waging war with Japan, the Kuo-Ming-Tang was not so strong as it was in the time when Communists were forced to migrate eastward.

They extended their movements to the districts where Japanese Army's administrative powers was weak, and th they greatly increased the influence.

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They are now sov^{ie}ietizing a great many vital districts completely; but in a newly gained area, they do not use even a word, "Communists", nor "Red", making it impossible for the Kuo-Ming-Tang Party to point out that the area is sov^{ie}ietized.

Moscow declared that the disorganization of the Third International had cut all the relation between the Soviet's Communist Party and Communist Party in other countries. However, if one thinks that they have really no connections with other, it would only mean superficiality.

So, the C. C. Party does not feel any inconvenience by the disorganization of the Third International, as the upper organs can freely communicate with Soviet Russia somehow.

Taking the chance of China's unpreparedness for the war against Japan, and its consequent chaotic conditions, the Communists activities were spread to (山東) and then farther to (河北). Here we must remember that during the period of their expansion they suffered no such powerful offensives both military and politically by the Nationalists, as those they received in the days of the (汪精衛) Regime; and that under the popular slogan "Down with the Japanese", they cunningly comflarged their Communistic character. They publicly made a great concession to the "San Min Shu I", and took every step to make themselves seem like to believe in the doctrine of Sun Yet Sen. They made tools of the "San Min Shu I", and by underground movements they steadily increased their political influence among the Chinese masses. They forged their new theories for political action and put claim for them to be new and true (or Communistic) "San Min Shu I".

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They are now preparing for a new great Communistic expansion movement, which will be started at the moment when a new revolution breaks out. But at present, they limit their activities to solidifying their position, so far gained in the Kuomintang, and to raise the cultural levels of the Chinese by means of Anti-Japanese propaganda.

It seems that the C. C. Party aim will be, for the coming ^{to set up a} tens of years, "Dictatorial Proletarian Government", and materialize the socialistic policies in China. In Russian World Revolution Plan, a "Dictatorial Proletarian Government", is, so to speak, a half-way object between the present world situations and the completion of the World Revolution. The C. C. Party is now in a preparation stage to attain this half-way object. What they had done by the time when the present war came to an end are as follows:

- A) Through Anti-Japanese Movements, they stimulated the racial consciousness of the masses, and emphasized the necessity of national unity of China.
- B) They emancipated lower classes in several regions and made them believe that they must take leadership in racial emancipation movements.
- C) They tried to raise the cultural standard of the Chinese by eliminating illiterary in the masses.
- D) They succeeded, to some extent, in making the Sovietized zones economically self-sufficient. Their aim was to build dependable bases, for a coming revolution.
- E) They made preparations for the movements to disorganize the Kuomintang.

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During the war, when the Nationalists ^{spheres} of influence shrank every day, the Communists steadily gained its power in those areas. Of the war had gone on and the Kuomintang had disappeared, they might have finished their preparations to set up a new central government by themselves. If such a time had come, they would have put on a new Communist ~~attire~~ ^{attire}, getting out of their old "Democratic Rags". But the war came to an end, and their dreams were shattered.

But in a short time of only eight years, they had gained about all the vital areas in ^{the} North China, and ^{the central} ~~middle~~ China. In those areas, they have now overwhelming majorities of the masses under their influence, chasing out the Kuomintang's prestige to nothing.

Thus new Communists' ³ ~~spheres~~ ^h of influence are attracting world's attention.

What are they doing now? Their influence in the Kuomintang is steadily increasing. Though it is impossible for them to disorganize the Kuomintang at present, they are now making every effort to penetrate further into the Kuomintang. It seems that they expect China, with its racial characters of tenaciousness and with its power that modernization of China will develop, will be an ideal vanguard of the World Revolution Movements, if the communists can successfully avail themselves of world's situations.

They are now negotiating with the Kuomintang under the watchful eyes of the world, but the outside world can only know their effort to keep the gained foot-holds. But as the ^{ways and} means of their doing, we can not tell exactly due to the scanty material and data. But at the beginning of 1941, they expected the outbreak of war between Japan and the United

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States. And when they started the enforcement of the three

disciplines movement among the Communists, and non-Communist masses, prior to the disorganization of the Third International, we thought it was a pity for them to launch such movement campaign. But, if the movement was intended as the preparatory movements for the expansion achieved so far, we must admit their far-sightedness, and we should keep sharp watch on the plans they are now working out for their next leap.

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THE POLITICAL AND MASS SYSTEM OF THE C. C. PARTY, AND
THEIR ACTIVITIES

1. The Outline

As the reader may know from the foregoing, the C. C. Party does not adopt any Communistic Policy in the beginning. So, no one think of their external political system as of "Red", but think as of "Democretic." ~~one~~. The party always watches upon masses, of which one third is the full members, ~~So~~ one can hardly distinguish the Communists from Democrats. If there is no party system and no underground movements, no one will despise them. But in fact, as the activities of the party control the external political movements, there is no possibility to consider abouts the outsider's policies. We inclined to consider the Communist Government as a tool of the Party, and it is right in some reasons.

With regard to the underground policy, no one consider it as of mass-minded policy, though it is no utterly dictatorial.

As far as the Party is concentrating their efforts to complete the democratic revolution as its half-way object, and as far as the Party is trying to raise up the intellectual standard of the masses to understand the Communistic idea, the center of their effort is considered to grasp the necessary bases and economic controlling power, which are essential in the coming Communistic Revolution. So, we are not necessarily to watch the "Redding" of the C. C. Party's Policy. When we speak of Communism, we easily think that there are some direct connection between Soviet, and Communists. There is no direct connect'ion between them at the tips, but along the Point and Line Commissin in cities, and the special intelligence mem-

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bers in Manchuria, it may be a different story. Therefore, we have to be careful to regard the C. C. Party as that of Soviet.

To understand the C. C. Party better, we had better to think them separately from Communism.

Their political division districts is not same as us, though political areas are similar of the Japanese occupied zones, which sometimes expand and sometimes shrinks. So the area in the spring is not the same in the winter. The main reason for this change is due to the organization condition of the party, and its military power. There is no doubt about the adaptability of its policy for people's minds, and situation in the locality, specially in such places as village or community among the mountains, and delta region, where the geological and economic influences are far stronger than other localities. There the political organization is formed at the same time with the peoples' organization.

In the following, we will tell you about the fundamental political systems, and masses organizations.

2. The administrative order and its functions.

(a) The administrative order

The Regional Government controls the administration of various localities. As there is a distinctive line between the upper and lower organs in the Party system, so the fundamental administrative office in the lower part of the party are the prefectural, and country office. And these

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offices have auxiliary office as Administrative Headoffice which has equal position of the District Party Commission, and sometimes has the Regional Government's power according to the situation, and the Council Office which is established in the district in the area. And to the lower administrative offices than the prefecture, the District Office, and District Branch Office are established. And for the smaller area than the county, they use the 保甲 system.

The system will be illustrated as follows:

Bureau → Border Area Government →
 Administrative Headoffice → Council Office →
 Prefecture Government → District Office →
 District Branch Office → County Office → 保

The above order is the typical one when the Party ~~is~~ fully developed. In the early stage of the Party, however, this order will be changed according to stages of development.

For Example, the 予鄂皖湘贛 Border Areas at present has almost complete administrative system, but in the time of 予鄂 Border Areas, in spite of the name of 予鄂 Border Areas Government, the government had, in its beginning, only the similar functioning ability of the council office, having only prefecture government under its supervision. From the summer of 1944, the membership had increased, and sphere of influences had expanded greatly, thus three council offices were established under the government. Then the government for the first time took shape of the real administrative headoffice. After the greater expansion in the spring of 1945, we have no definite information concerning the locations and other matters of this

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Administrative Headoffice. But in case there are two Administrative Headoffice, it is in fact and name be called the Border Area Government.

With regard to the lower administrative organization in the early stage, each prefecture had only several county offices, and these county offices control only part of the county. As the membership in the county increased, and the number of counties increased, then the District Office take the vein of these county offices, and the prefecture government controls the several District Offices. Furthermore, the contents of the county office is enriched, having several counties under its control, the D. O. separate into several offices, in order to convey orders well, to the tip-members.

The growth of county in the above means the growth of the Branch Commission of the Party System. In another words, the growth of the underground work of the Party in county results the complete development of the administration works in that county.

3. Qualitative Classification of Administrative Area

In the Border Areas, there are many different areas, such as *Shan-shui-shan - Shensi - Kansu - Ning-shan* Border Ar.
as 晉 綏 陝 甘 寧 Border Ar.

Areas, which have the characteristics of typical Border Areas; 鄂 皖 湘 贛 Border Areas with the characteristics of gerilla areas; 晉 冀 魯 豫 Border

Area with special aspects of border area literally; and the 鄂 南 Border Area, which is nothing but gerilla regions.

Thus, the Border Area have each character according to its special localities, so their influence of power increases and disceases according to the military influence of the Japanese and Kuoming Tang Armies.

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(a) The fundamental administrative region and its activities.

The fundamental administrative region will be divided into two; one is that of the sovietized, and the other is the ^ug^urilla regions. In the sovietized region, the people are under the complete control of the Party, and there is no need of any ~~armed~~ ^{armed} forces. The people in this region is completely organized, and the administrative form is the typical one, with the representative of people, as so-called, the "Democratic Administration." For the good example, of this kind, we point out the central locality of the former ^{Shensi} 陝甘寧 Border Area, and the ^{Shensi} 冀西 Administrative Headoffice in ^{Shensi} 晉察冀 Border Area, and the region of the ^{Shensi} 太行 Administrative Headoffice in ^{Shensi} 晉冀魯 ^豫 Border Area. Almost half of these regions are under the complete control of the Administrative Headoffice, and at the same time, these regions are the operative bases of the regular ^ug^urilla operations. In another words, these regions were the completely sovietized localities in the ^{Shensi} 瑞金 Regime. (In the militaristic expression, they called the above as the "bases of Anti-Japanese Movement.")

By the ^ug^urilla region, we mean the comparatively advanced administrative regions in ^ug^urilla areas, and they use these regions as their bases in ^ug^urilla operations. Accordingly the regions may not be wide area. The widest one in this regions include several prefectures. For instance, in the ^{Shensi} 予鄂皖湘贛 Border Area, the base are ^{Shensi} 信陽 near the present ^{Shensi} 四望山 and ^{Shensi} 信南縣; and also ^{Shensi} 汝南, ^{Shensi} 羅孔光, ^{Shensi} 孔山縣, were the bases in ^{Shensi} 予鄂 Border Areas. (But now, these region is called

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the ^ddropped regions.)

The localities which are called at present as the "Central Prefecture," and the "Central County", have the characteristic of this region.

And a ^ugarilla prefecture has always a basic region for their operation. But when the outsiders' power get strengthened in the ^ugarilla base, the region loses the value as the base. Then they establish the bases at points where the outsiders' power can hardly penetrate, such as mountain, lake or forlorn regions. The boundary region of mountain and plain is called the best suitable location for ^ugarilla region, because of its elasticity of ^ugarilla activities. (In military circle, the base region of ^ugarilla area is called the "garilla inviting location".)

(b) The Guerilla Area ^uAnd Activities.

By the Guerilla area, we mean the outside operative area of the fundamental region. So, when the movement is advanced highly, the guerilla area becomes the fundamental region. As far as the guerilla troops are doing some movements, and some kinds of political groups are organized in villages and county, ⁺that place is called the Guerilla Area. In the beginning of their movement, several members appoint a man forcibly to take care of the administrative work of village or county. They work to chase out the outsiders' power from the region, so the administrative work of the place will be doubled or tripled, until the region becomes a complete fundamental region, as the 山東, in 1941. Where there were Japanese sponsored prefectural government, the National Government and the Communist Government. The people in that region have

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to pay double or tripple taxes, and have to obey these government's regulations. As the people seemed contented with these administration, we thought them as our obedient subjects, without any connection with the Communist Party. It is very hard to discover the people's double or tripple character, especially when they concentrate their efforts to chase out the Kuoming-Tang's influence. These people serve tea and wave the Japanese National flag when the Japanese troops went for subjugation, and if there was no disturbance of communication lines, no Japanese Authorities think them as sovietized people. But when we look at the statistics of tax incomes, and the condition of commodities transaction, we can judge the sovietized degree of the people. Without finding out the under-ground works of the Communists, and leave them as they are until the preparation for counter-attack is made, then the situation may become beyond control. The Communist work consistently and eagerly in order to gain the strategic points under their influence. (Thus under-groundly sovietized region is called the "hidden bases" to the fundamental region.) The value of the "hidden region" is not so small when the movement can not be started from the point where the outsiders' influence is concentrated. We can point out 临利, 葛店, 团风, or the similar places as the "hidden bases". In the North China, they made a connecting line between 冀热辽, Army District and 冀中, Army District, which started in 1939 and completed in 1943. The central point in the line is 郎坊站 along the 京山 R.R., which are the "hidden bases."

The formation of the guerilla area war started after their failure in the 南昌 riot, and 李主三's course; namely, the Comintern of the 瑞金 Region, pointed-out the failure of

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the 李立三's course as the main reason of failure. At this time, they failed on the Communistic Division of land, and on account of the lack of the half sovietized system outside of the Party, ⁺ they received the constant attack from the Kuoming-Tang and its sympathysiers. They thought ^{then} ~~then~~, that they should establish the strong fundamental region, and certain sphere of influence at the outside of the Party, in order to check up the enemy's attack. Here, we will see the Comintern's point of view on the failure of the 李立三's course", which was made public on Nov. 16, 1930.

The important items to be executed after the clearance of 李立三's course are as follows:

- (1) To organize and train the real, solidifiable workers' Red Army at the earliest possible moments.
- (2) To establish the Soviet Government which has the firm and practical abilities.
- (3) To agitate the political and economic conflicts in the Anti-Sovietized Regions.
- (4) Making use of the ironical points in the Imperialism and weakening the connection between anti-revolutionary countries, we should concentrate and continue our efforts on the anti-Imperialism, avoiding the clash until the Party develops to a certain stage.

From (3) of the above, the guerilla areas came out, and from (4) the importance of the "hidden bases" was arose. It warned to avoid the direct clash until the preperation was completed.

Since they executed the above items, they held the fundamental region safely, and at the same time they stopped the anti-Communist movement of the Kuoming-Tang Army.

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After the Chino-Japanese conflict, they utilized their experiences. The disturbance in the Japanese occupied zones was done by the newly organized troops, using the "hidden bases," as their bases of operation, and finally reduced the Japanese occupied zones to the both sides of the railway and cities, only.

The recent guerilla areas are classified as follows:

- (1) The "near enemy zone"--means the near-by zone of the Japanese occupied area, having the firm, double characters. The works in this zone should be done with the utmost carefulness.
- (2) The "dropped zone"--Formerly this zone was under the influence of the Party, but now the system and influence of the Party were broken up. The Party had stopped the movement in this zone.
- (3) The "hidden zone"--Without using the military means, but by the penetrated member's work, the zone is under the Party's power.
- (4) The "general guerilla zone"--The zone where the political ^{movement} ~~movement~~ is going by their organizations.

4. The Classification of the Political Districts.

It is almost impossible to classify the political district in the Border Areas, though there are political districts as the administrative districts. It appears that the guerilla area circles the fundamental region, and the outside ^{boundary} ~~border~~ of the guerilla areas is the limit of the administrative tip-zone, but it changes always as we stated before. However, there is an outline boundary of political district, as the Yantze River and 稀水 divide the 予鄂皖 district and 鄂湘贛 District. It is hard, though, to draw a distinctive line on maps.

The names of the Regional Political Districts and the Administrative Head Office were taken from the old names of its Shen (省) as, 予 (河南), 鄂 (湖北), 皖 (安徽), 湘 (湖南), 贛 (江西) Border Districts. The names of the Council Office is in numerical order. As to the names of prefecture, they use the former names, as well as, dividing it into two prefectures as 信南縣, and 信北縣 while the former name of it 信陽縣. Sometimes they make one prefecture, combining former several prefectures when the fundamental region is located near the boundary, and the guerilla areas spread around it, as 信應縣, made out of 信陽縣, and 光山縣, and 京應縣 of 光山縣 and 應城縣.

(Note) In the North China, the names of the combined prefectures is called "allied prefectures", but in ^{the} Central China, it is called the "Special Allied Prefecture."

The name of the Regional and District Political Division is in numerical order. The name of county is named after the former larger county divisions, or by the name of the central county, or by the numerical order.

5. The Outline of Each Administrative Organization

A. Border Area Government

(a) The Origin of the Border

The former name of the Border is the "Soviet District." The policy to establish the Border Area Government is determined at the General Conference which was held at 瑞金 in Nov. 1927. Prior to the first ^{disunity} dissent of the Communist and the National Parties in 1927, ⁺ there was a severe discussion about the pros and cons of district system between Stalin and Trotsky groups. The Stalin group insisted that the

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Chinese Communist Movement was not developed to adopt the district system yet, and advised to apply the district system after the Bourgeois Democratic Revolution. The Trotsky group said, the establishment of the Soviet District from the independent view of the C. C. Party, disregarding the Kuoming-Tang's attitude. But by the clash of the C. C. Party and the Kuoming-Tang Party, the C. C. Party took up their own way, and established the first "海陸豐 Soviet District" in Nov. 1927, which collapsed after three days. And then the Party established the Soviet Government at 長沙, 耒東, and 百色, which had had a very short lives.

In the resolutions regarding the Chinese Affairs, the Comintern pointed out the followings as the ways of the C. C. Party, in July 1930.

- (1) To establish the Soviet Central Government.
- (2) Stripping off the voting right of wealthy people, the Soviet Government should assist the farmers' Association to develop to the Soviet Organization.
- (3) The central problem in the Soviet Area is to solve the land problem.
- (4) With regard to the economic policy in the Soviet Area, the Soviet Government should not adopt any temporary policy.
- (5) To develop the labor and farmers' movements in the outside of the Soviet Area.

By the above ^{notices} resolution, the Party established the 瑞全 Soviet District, and others. In May 1930, The numbers of of the district was 103, and it increased to 300 in the beginning of 1931.

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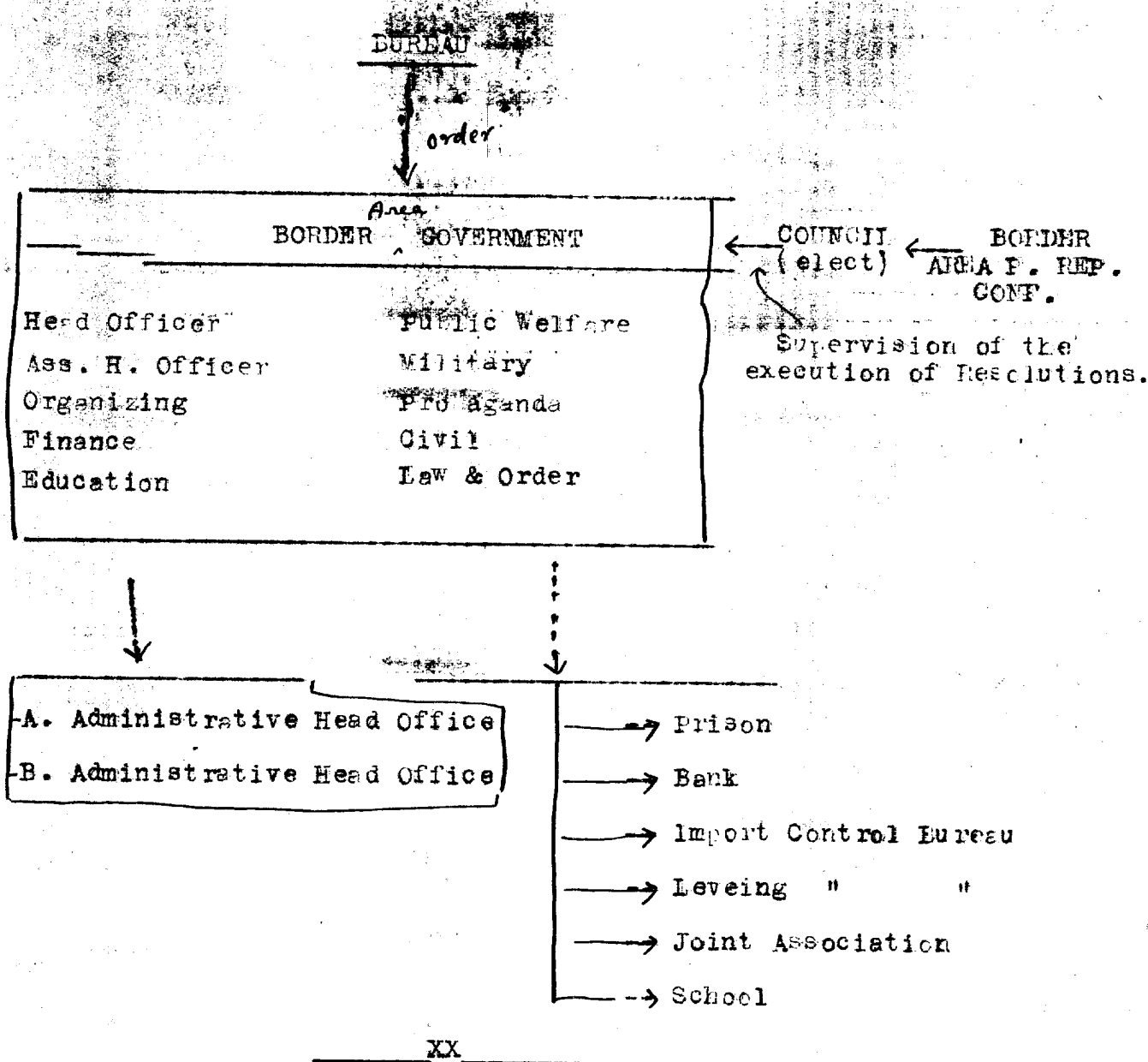
By the ^{Campaign} ~~蒋介石's~~ Fifth Anti-Communist Movement in 1935, the Party migrated to Yenan, ~~陕西省~~; and by 1937, there were 23 Soviet Districts in the Northern part of ~~陕西省~~.

Taking opportunity of the ~~西安事变~~, the second compromise was formed between the C. C. Party and the Kuomintang Party. Since then, the Party putted out the names of the "Soviet District", and called the same as the "Regional" (or special district) government. But no changes were discovered about ^{its inside} ~~the inner~~ function until the present time. In 1938, the Party established the ~~晋察冀~~ Border Area Government, and since then many other Border Area Government has been established until now. In the Central China, the ~~鄂豫~~ Border Area Government was established in 1939, and no other one was established since then.

B. The Function of the Border Area Government

The political area of the Border Area Government is similar of the ~~省~~ Government. This government has the organizing, finance, education, public welfare, propaganda, military, civil, law and order divisions; and the function of these divisions is same of the division of the Party System. As the direct controlling organization outside of the government, they have the banks, the import control bureau, the ^{levy (Tax)} ~~levying~~ control bureau, the joint associations, and the prison. To supervise these organization, they have the Border Area People's Representative Conference, and the Council which was composed by the selected persons from the Border Area People's Rep. Conference. The illustration of this system is as follows:

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It is not right to think that every staff in the division engages to their work in the office of the Border Area Government. They have no fixed place to do their work; sometimes they use caves; and sometimes cottages in villages. They should move quickly when their enemy attacks. Even the government itself moves from one place to another, according to the movement and circumstances. Prior to ~~the~~ last summer, the 弓野院相賴 Border Area Government was located at 大悟山.

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Considering the urgent activities in 予南 District, and the weakened military power at 大陽山 after the dispatch of reinforcement to 予南 District the government moved to 壽山, in last May, then to 四望山 District. An information said that some parts of the government moved to 刀汉湖 District.

The Border Area Government has the 糾察隊 as police; and the political guard corps, as the anti-espionage organization. But at the war period, the former organization is transferred under the control of the semi-regular army in the County Army; and the latter under the anti-espionage division of the Army Political Commission.

C. Function of the Administrative Head Office and the Council Office.

These offices have the same divisions as of the Border Area Government. In case the locations of these offices are far away from the Border Area Government, they execute the similar duties of the Border Area Government. (堽中 Adm. HO in 晉 察冀 Area, 堽東 Council O, in 1940, and the present 堽 堽 Adm. HO, are located far and had little direct support from the Border Area Government.) So these offices take the form and duty of independent organizations. Excepting the above offices, the ordinary Adm. HO and C. O. are the auxiliary organization to the Border Area Government, with the main duty to control the lower organizations. The movability of these head-offices is same of Border Area Government.

With such simple system and the administrative function, the party is going forward, though it may not be perfect advance. The chief reason for the advancing may due to the Party system in the background and the low intellectual level of the Chinese.

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For instance, when they wanted to gain a certain important locality, these headoffices move to the zone and engage the works with hearty cooperation, with other groups.

The Staff of these head offices, when they have no special mission to do, move around in their working zones.

These offices have no desk-plan, or plan-for-planning such as other Chinese Public Office have, but the practical plans only. We may be surprised to find the careless plans in their hands, but we will be struck with admiration at its practicality.

Under the Adm. HO, there are 3 to 5 Council O's, and the Council O. has 5 to 10 prefecture Governments under its supervision.

D. The Function of the Prefecture Government.

The scope of the prefecture is not so big as before. It has the similar divisions as that of the Border Area Government, except the self-guard troops, which to be employed in guerilla operation of the prefecture itself; while the upper office, than the Council O. receive the indirect protection by the Regular, and semi-regular armies. The Staff members below the Governor always walk around in the prefecture, investigating the actual conditions, and effects of the Party's Policies.

The guerilla force is a prefecture move along with the prefecture government, and sometimes do independent movements in a central locality or a tip-zone. So we can say that the prefecture government has no definite place to execute their works. The governor attires the same dress ^{as} ~~so~~ of farmers, and is always polite to others, so that no one can judge him from the rest of the people, making the popular, and favorable speeches to the people. The governor concentrates his ^{effort} ~~attention~~ to gain the popularity among the masses. He carefully watches the ^{concert} ~~coincidence~~

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of the Party's Policy, and the farmers' desire in time of harvest. Specially for the above purpose, the Party appoints the man of the most high moral reputation as the Governor, and place an able member as the vice-governor, under him. In case the Governor is not an able man, and does not go out as other Governor, the Vice-Governor, goes out into the people and turn the people's attention to him gradually, and naturally. And at the end, the Vice-Governor is promoted to the Governor, and the former wealthy Governor is chased out from the locality. They never take the direct means against the wealthy people as before, but use the mass indirectly ^{to kick out the former} influential persons.

In order to take care of the people's arms, there is an Arm Division in the prefecture government, having a self-protecting Corps under it. This corps is responsible for the laws and order among the people, ^a And the collection of informations, as well as the garrison of their prefecture, ^{adding to the} ~~adding to the~~ above. This corps also has the duty of the Armed Police for the masses.

E. The Function of the District, and District-Branch Offices.

These offices are moving always, so its system is very simple.

In the District Office, there are organizing, financial, propaganda, arms, public welfare, education, and civil divisions with assistant clerks as its heads. And at the same, in many cases, these assistants are the head of the District Branch Offices. The main duty of the D. B. O. is only the assistant to the D. O. in controlling villages and communities activities. The D. B. O., under the direction of the District Representative Conference, get the order on the execution of the resolution of the D. R. C. ^{from} ~~from~~ the Executive Commission elected by the D. P. C. The Armed Forces under the control of the D. O. is called the "District Company", and is composed ^{of} ~~by~~ 10 to 20 soldiers, with similar duty of the guerilla corps in the

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prefecture government. As the people's armouring, the self-garrison battalion acts under the direction of Arms assistant. There is no professional soldiers in the D. O. but is a company of an armed people which was composed by the elected members from the armed ^{civilians} ~~people~~.

F. The County Office and its Function

This office is composed by the county Head (and sometimes county sub-head), the organizing, the financial, the propaganda, arms, and civil affair staffs. These staffs execute the works according to the resolutions of the County People's Representative Conference, by receiving the supervision of the County Executive Commissioners, who were elected from the C. P. R. C.

Excepting the case that their county has no fear of attacking from the outsiders, the ordinary administrative work of the county is done by the County Head only. They seldom have the People's Conference or the like.

Under the county, there are several $\frac{1}{4}$. (in case the bigger county system, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$. make one county.)

In the early stage of the movement, they appoint a head-officer and a sergeant of the armed section, and execute the simple administrative works, and afterward they organize the Relief Conference, and the Armed Committee in the mass. The Headofficer, and the Staff Officers in community engage in the productive work, while the Staff of the County HO engage the productive work half-way.

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(4)

THE COMMUNIST PARTY Army

1. The Outline

Everyone knows about the Communist Army, on account of their comparatively exposed activities.

When we speak of the C. Army, we apt to think that they are the whole power of the Communist Party. Undoubtedly, the C. Army is a part of the Party, ^{but} and has not much fighting ability as we think. However, if we consider their fighting ability only, we will have the terrible end, because the C. Army has the tremendous political power as well.

To understand the C. Army, we have notice the organic construction of the party, political, and mass systems. It was ^{of the kind - shock} 蒋介石 's admirable policy that he adopted "the politic's 70% and military 30%" policy in his plan to the Fifth Anti-Communism campaign.

In the policy 蒋 used his armed forces to break down the Communist Political Power and to advance the Nationalist Political influence. After there was a definite political victory, he ordered the " 瑞金 ^{attack} attack" by his armed forces mainly.

However, the present, C. Army is in much more advanced stage, in its quality and quantity. In the old days, though the C. Army had several hundreds cannons (It is said that they had 300 cannon altogether), their main enemy was the National ^{ist} Troops, who were very poor fighters. But at present, the C. Army learned much from the Japanese Troops and they are much better soldiers. Furthermore, they have the better connection with U. S. S. R., and their position in the world as the C. C. Party had greatly advanced.

The present sphere of their influence spread almost all over the North China, and import regions in the Central China. They control

the economic power in these area; and they also are in better position of political movement in the above area. In the Central China, for instance, they hold the fertile places such as ^{Kia} 江蘇省, 浙江省, ^{its} 湖北省, and they are commanding the National Army in these 省. In the 武漢 District, it is very hard to chase out their influence, though the National ^{its} Army had subjugated 大悟山, because they have many other fundamental bases of their movement in this district. (^{its} Its central region is the Delta Region in 鄂南 Area). We may say this--unless the National ^{its} Army take place the biggest subjugation operation, without thinking the consequent damages, the Communist will never be weeded away. ^{from 武漢 district.}

Prior to 1934, the C. Army were nothing but bandit troops, with the least political idea. But the present Red Troops have very firm political brief on Communism. ^{There is} There is no recent dated newspaper, and other materials at hand, ^{so} we can not see the present condition of the Red Armys, but we can say the following with the firmist belief.

Though the ^(政治協商會 13.) "Joint Political Conference" of the C. C. Party and the Nationalist Party had made very agreeable solution, the C. Army will never be reduced. If they made some reduction of the army, it was not genuine reduction, but was the external one. ^{and} ~~only~~ the reduced Red soldiers will enter the National Army, and are armed by the the National ^{its} Army for the time being. These ex-red soldiers are just waiting the chance of their next movement.

The Red Army authorities of the C. C. Party is hoping to raise the standard of present regular army to the same level of the U. S. S. R.'s Red Army. Then the other army such as the semi-regular and guerilla armies will remain as the partizan, ~~in Soviet~~.

When the compromise between the Communist and the National ^{its} Parties took place in 1937, with the purpose to form the common front against the Japanese, there was some conflicts between these armies in 1937, ^{in 1937}

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and 湖北省. When 项英 ordered the Red Army to assemble at 南昌 at the end of the year, only few came there. The Red Army, at that time, wished to join to their commander, but they could not go due to the Nationalist Army's attack. To arm the red army is to make them attack their opponents.

2. The Development of the C. Army.

To understand the present C. Army, we have to know the outline history of their development. In this passage, we will describe the above briefly.

A. The 红军 Period

(a) The beginning of the 红军 and the clearing time of the 李立三's course.

The 红军 was organized after their separation from the Kuoming-Tang Party in 1927. They made the riot at 南昌 on Aug. 1, 1927, against the Kuoming-Tang Government. After their defeat, 贺龙, 李德, with the remaining soldiers, went to 仙桃, in 湖北省. *He Long, Li De*

At that time, the C. C. Party wanted to establish Soviet Government in China through armed riot. So, riots at 无锡 (江苏省), 漢口, 上海, Canton (Dec. 18) took place. These riots were similar with all farmers' uprisings and repressed easily. Taking this chance, the Party increased its memberships, and agitated the rioters to go to the Communistic Revolution. And 贺龙, 李德, 李德, organized the Communist Army, though they were like a bandit army.

And at that time, the Party discussed the redistribution of land. However, this policy was thought to recognize the pillage of personal property, and finally was shelved.

The C. Army at that time was poorly armed, comparing with the Nationalist Troops; and had no connection between them; In another words, they were the mixed troops without any commanding order and

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definite idea of their movement. How these troops could have the political idea of the Party? Think of their 長沙 attack, under the command of 彭德懷. The attack was done by the armed force of farmers who assembled under the Communist flag by agitation only; and no connection was made to the Central Party Office at Shanghai. Their training was not enough and their arms were poor. So, they got the complete by the 何建 National ^{ist} Army.

Here, we will describe briefly the formation and the disposition in and about 1930.

Then they had fifteen armies, with more than 150,000 soldiers. It ^{was} as follows:---

The 1st Army~~--- It~~ It is composed by the 31st D. in the Eastern part of 湖北省, the 32nd D. in the Eastern part of 河南省, and 33rd D. in the western part of 安徽省.

Total number of soldiers --about 5,000

Armaments----- 3,000 Infantry rifles.

The Commander----- 許繼慎

The Political Commission-- 曹大靖

The 2nd Army-- The 賀龍 troops which came to 湖南 after the failure of "Kanton" riot.

Total number of soldiers--- about 6,000

Armaments — About 4,000 Infantry rifles

The Political Commissioner--- 陳叶萃

The 3rd Army-- Total number of soldiers-- about 5,000

Armaments--about 3,500 Infantry Rifles

The Commander--- 黃公昭

The Political Com.----- 曾如相 (方志敏)

The 4th Army-- Stationed in the Western-South part of 江西省, the Western part of 福建省, the Eastern-North part

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of 廣東省, and the Southern part of 湖南省.

Total number of soldiers-- about 10,000

Armaments---- about 10,000 I. R.

The Commander-- 曾江水 朱德

The Political Commissioner--- 毛沃東

The 5th Army---- Total number of soldiers-- about 20,000

The Commander--- 彭德懷

The Political Commissioner-- 陳代遠

The 6th Army--- Total number of soldiers-- about 6,000

The Commander---- 龐統勳

The Pol. Com.----- 周逸群

(They are intending to accompany with the 賀龍 Army.)

The 7th Army--- Stationed around 廣東省 and 廣西省 Border Area.

The Commander----- 洪雲逸

The Pol. Com.----- 劉希賢

The 8th Army---- Stationed in the Eastern part of 湖北省.

Total number of soldiers-- about 20,000

The Commander--- 何長庚

The Pol. Com.----- 劉乾之

The 9th Army--- Around the 襄陽, in 湖北省.

Total number of soldiers-- about 1,000

Armament-- unknown

The Commander--- 李成

The Pol. Com. --- unknown

The 10th Army-- In 江西省.

The Commander---- 周建平

The Pol. Com., and number of soldiers-- unknown

Armaments---- unknown

The 11th Army--- Stationed in the Northern part of 廣東省.

Total number of soldiers--- about 5,000

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Armaments--- unknown

The Commander--- 古 卓 道

The Pol. Com.--- 古 友 何. 宋 青 田. - 150 (Kie 7) Tai-ho

The 12th Army- Stationed in the Western part of 物 更 者 .

Total number of soldiers -- about 2,000

The Commander-- 林 彪 湖南 省

The 13th Army- Stationed in the Southern part of 福 来 者 .

Total number of soldiers--- about 2,000

The Commander--- 林 提 湖 支 勉 Hie Huang - 21271

The Pol. Com.--- unknown

The 14th Army- Stationed near 通 海 门 , in the South part, of 江 蘇 省 .

Total number of soldiers--- about 3000

The Commander and the Pol. Com.--- unknown

The 15th Army- Stationed in 徐州, 蚌 埠, and 海 州 .

Number of soldiers--- unknown

The Commander----- 陳 賡 東

The Pol Com. ----- unknown

The majority of the armies are farmers, who wanted to be something in the chaotic era. In the early stage of the 紅 軍, the Party devoted their main effort to increase the number only, giving no attention to their quality.

Here, we will point out the mistakes they had made and look at the developing process to the 瑞 金 Red Army.

(1) The labor movement, as well as the farmer movement should be developed step by step. In case the rapid development took place, there should be some errors. But the Party thought the rapid development of their movement as the normal one.

(2) The rapid development of the Red Army attracted enough attention of the world. But, on account of the weak solidification, and poor quality of the troops, the Red Army went to the different

direction from the policy of the Party.

(3) ~~He~~ did not recognize the necessity of the true, sincere, proletarian Staffs who direct the Red Army, and he thought that the Red Army was not yet developed to the stage to be controlled by such Staffs.

(4) There are many ex-military clique, and wealthy persons in the army. The true Red Army should be composed by the proletarian and be directed by the able Communist Commanders.

(5) The authorities gave no serious consideration to the military technique, the poor armament, the commissary bases, the attacking footholds, and the like; and they dreamed to march into big cities as conquerors. It was really their adventures to fight against the modernized army of the Nationalist Party.

At this point, we wish to call your attention to the forwarding direction and regions of the present New 4th Army. It was the same region at where the Red Army used to operate their guerilla movement. But the New 4th Army are penetrating easily to the region without any resistance, nor clash. Why this takes place? After the failure of the ~~the~~ attack, the Red Army had improved their ways of movement greatly. If they were same, and gained the city of ~~the~~ under their control the Red Army might get so heavy a blow that they could not stand up again, by the next Nationalist's anti-Communists operation. At that time, the Nationalist had some affairs between ~~the~~ of 河南省, and 閻 of 山西省, and they could not use the whole forces towards the Red Army. Even in that period, the Red Army could not expand so easily. Thus, we can imagine their poor militaristic and political ability of the Red Army.

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Here, we will see 黎秋白's teaching of the ~~the~~ operation.

It said as follows:

(1) The lack of connection between the Red Army

The main force of the First ^{8th} operation was the 5th Army, which restrained the enemy with newly enlisted troops. Against to their expectation, the newly enlisted men broke the unity of the Army, and made the Army beyond the control. Since then, the 3rd, 4th, 8th, Armies were assembled to reinforce the 5th Army, but they failed to make any connection with the 5th Army.

(2) They have no "sovietized bases" for the big movement.

Though the Red Army had made splendid development in the ^{Hubei, Hunan, and Jiangxi} 湖北, 湖南, and 江西, they had no bases to perform the organizing, supply, transportation, and information works. In another words, there was no sovietized regions which to be utilized as their operating bases. Prior to the ^{8th} operation, the Red Army had controlled 平江, 修水, 高安, and 浏阳, but after few days they gave them up. This shows the lack of their idea to the "fundamental bases."

(3) Between the movement of the Red Army outside of ^{8th} city, and the rioters in the City, no connection ^{had been} ~~was~~ made. Though the rioters sometimes seemed to join to their side, they gave ~~them~~ no attention, ^{to the rioters.}

(4) They ^{lacked} ~~looked~~ the unity in their aim, and consequently their guerilla methods splitted into different directions. The majority of the people did not understand the Party and they thought the Party as the "Anti-City" group.

Adding to the above, 罗秋白 explained the meaning of operation as followings:

(a) Though the operation was ended in the temporary victory with the background of the National Revolution, we should keep in mind the true meaning of the operation.

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(b) It was the first stage of the new revolutionary advancement in the coming age.

(c) It expressed fully ~~the~~ the Chinese workers' anti-military clique attitude.

The above may be right in some senses, but we can see some remains of 李三's point of view.

The failure of the 李三 operation, it is sure, has taught them some lessons in actual field operation method; and it should be mentioned as the 3 big events in the history of the C. C. Party, with the clearance of 李三's course, and the big migration after their abandonment of 瑞金.

Hereafter, we will describe the development of the sovietized zone after the renunciation of 瑞金's course.

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6. The Organization of the Masses

(Contour Organizations of the Party)

Throughout their movements, Communists make every effort to convince the people that the Party wants to make, to raise up the standard of their culture and living, and that, while they are with Communists, they are free from any economic or political dangers.

They know that whether they can successfully win the confidence of the people or not, decides the fate of their future political, and military activities.

Their organizing the people begins with absorbing them into some political organizations, for the purpose of making them support their political movements. And then they arm some of their political supporters. Small units of armed civilians increase by degrees in number, and next, prefectural guerilla troops are formed. These armed groups guard and support the Party and its administration.

Mixing with or supported by the Regular Army, the prefectural guerilla troops engage in diversionary movements, so that the Regulars can dodge the offensive of powerful enemy forces. Organized local communities serve as the outer covering of the whole Communist system. Those who do not directly take part in fightings gather informations about the surrounding enemy troops, transmit orders, clean the battlefield, and do everything they can do to help the Communists in action. The communities are also a great reservoir of reservists for local armed groups.

Thus the masses in the Communist-Dominated Areas serve to keep secret the Communists' military power from the outside world.

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No wonder they say that only by successful organizing of the people at large, they can expect the Party, the Administrative Organs, the Army, and the masses to work together organically.

They form "Save-the-Nation Societies" for their political support, and organize "Nucleus Armed Vigilante Groups", or "Community's Self-Defense Group" for their military cooperation.

(A) "Save-the-Nation Society"

This ~~Nation~~ Society has a mission to raise the cultural standard of the masses and to increase agricultural production. The ultimate end of their political movements being to get control of China's Agricultural Economy, ^{to} they plan a highly developed agricultural structure in their Red Areas, and this, they think, is made possible only through making the "Save-the-Nation Societies" more highly organized.

It may be said the "Agricultural Labour Union" was the precursor of the present "Save-the-Nation Society."

When they denounced ~~the~~ ^{the} theories of Chinese Revolution in 1930, they came to a conclusion that in order to establish in a short time as many Soviets Districts as possible, it is categorical imperative ^{to} ~~to~~ organized farmers and develop their organizations as highly as possible.

How powerful the activities of the Save-the-Nation Societies are, will be understood by the fact that Chiang Kai Shek's Fifth ~~Quoting~~ Anti-Communist Campaign owed its success chiefly to his policy of "70% politics, and 30% military" actions. In other words only by cutting people's communications line between sovietized, and non-sovietized or "partizian", Districts, has his campaign come to a success.

In spite of this bitter experience, the Communists do everything in their power to secure a central (or nucleus) District, and

by organizing not only the people in the district, but also the masses in the "Partizan District", they intend to make use of these civilians in defending themselves against future Kuomintang's attack.

When the Sino-Japanese War broke out they emphasized the "Anti-Japanese United Front" and stimulated anti-Japanese sentiment ^{among} of the masses.

A new political slogan, "Centralize Authority!" took the place of the old one, "United Front for the Unification of China!"

Thus they succeeded in winning the hearts of the Chinese people, and the number of the members of Save-the-Nation Societies steadily increased.

In the horrors of war, the Chinese people asked the Communist Party for help. In the non-Sovietized Regions as well as in the sovietized districts, they were organized under the pretext of Anti-Japanese movements. Frankly speaking, if there had been no such military pressure of Communists, or Communistic agitation and propaganda, the Chinese masses had no choice to support Communistic movements, and join the Party.

(Just when the Chinese people were on the point of being freed from the fetters of feudalism, the Sino-Japanese war broke out, and their lands were laid waste by fire and bombs. They had nothing to lean on. Their standard of education made it impossible for them to pass any judgment upon Communism. There was only one way left, to join the Party.)

There are three kinds of Save-the-Nation Societies.

(a) Farmers' ^{Save} Save-the-Nation Society.

As the Communists' spheres of influence are mostly in agricultural districts far from large cities, and their revolutionary movements are directed to farmers, this is the most

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common type of Save-the-Nation Society.

A Farmers' Save-the-Nation Society is generally established in a village, and a Joint Farmers' Save-the-Nation Society is formed in an area larger than a county. The principal objects of the organization are as follows:--

- a) To make the community economically self-sufficient.
- b) To increase agricultural production by collective land clearing.
- c) To make researches in fertilizer, and to distribute it among farmers.
- d) To plan and carry out the irrigation works.
- e) To distribute labourers to right places.
- f) To solve land problems.
- g) To control selling and buying of important goods through cooperative societies.
- h) To eliminate illiteracy.
- i) To develop people's common sense.

The society consists of six minor Save-the-Nation Societies.

Young Men's-, Middle Aged Men's-, Old Men's-, Boy's, Children's, and Women's--- Save-the-Nation Societies.

1) The Young Men's Save-the-Nation Society.

Its members are between 19 and 29 years^{old}. They are the most radical elements of the society.

2) Middle Aged Men's S. N. Society.

Members between 30 to 45 years of age belong to this society. As many of young men join the army, they are the backbone of the whole society. But they are neither so enthusiastic nor so aggressive as young men.

3) Boy's S. N. Society.

Boys 15 to 18 years old, form the society.

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4) Old Men's S. N. Society

The members are over the age of 46. They are generally inactive.

5) Children's S. N. Society

Members are under 14. They are given anti-Japanese education.

6) Women's S. N. Society

The members ^{of this Society} took charge of many works that had been done by men, and made it possible for men to go to the front. It will not be too much to say that women's movements increased China's power of resistance at least 50% by awakening Chinese women in general.

(b) Industrial Laborers' Save-the-Nation Society

We don't know much about the Communists' influence among the industrial workers. But it seems that only laborers in coal and iron mining and railway employees have their S. N. Societies.

As the present aim of the Communists' movements is an industrial revolution, the organizing of the urban communities are making only slow progress.

As far as we know, the "City Communist Parties" in North China have sent a number of able Communist leaders to underground movements among the 'bus' and 'streetcar' employees, and other industrial workers in large cities in that region.

In 鄂 Border Areas, they seem to be planning a penetration into the 大冶 District, and 车漢 Railway workers, but so far we have not heard anything about their activities.

There are Students' and Merchants' S. N. Societies. But except they show some activities in Nueleus districts, most of them are negligible.

(c) Armed S. N. Society

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Organized armed civilians' role in guerilla warfare is far more important than other S. N. Societies role in the political movements. Almost all of their Regulars have once been members of some armed civilian groups.

Now we shall describe the process of their organizing armed civilian groups. On account of recurrent civil wars, and consequent chaotic conditions, every village community in China has its vigilantes. In most cases rich men organize and direct these vigilantes.

When Communists occupy a village, and succeed in convincing the community that the Communists are really dependable, they organize these vigilantes on Communistic lines. Villagers join the group willingly as they think it is necessary for the community's self-defence. Then Communists set up an Armed Civilians' Commission, and give military training to the young men in the community.

(In most cases Communists' organizing military groups precede their organizing political groups.)

When vigilante groups are organized in most of the villages in a prefecture, they form a squad in a 保 (consisting of two or three villages), a section in a Community (consisting of several 保). A company in a District Branch (consisting of a few communities), a battalion in a district (consisting two or three District Branch), and a Brigade in a prefecture. And Brigade Headquarters, Battalion Headquarters, and Company Headquarters are established in some places where it is convenient to take command of their respective unit.

But being armed with a few hand-grenades, cast-iron pistols, and spears, these vigilantes cannot take part in

Regulars' action. Three to five rifle guns are given by the Party to a "Model Vigilante Section" formed by an Armed Civilians' Commission of a village, (consisting of a number of villages), the strength of the section being 30 to 50 selected village vigilantes.

Several excellent members of a "Model Vigilante Section" are sent out to form a company in a district (prefecture is divided into several districts).

A Company's strength is 20 to 50, nearly a half of whom are armed with rifles. Most of the members of a Company have no special occupation to engage, so they may be said to be professional soldiers.

Red Regulars are mostly volunteers, but if they want to recruit new soldiers, it is quite easy to raise any quantity of recruits, as they thus have control of many armed civilians.

We must add the fact that Communists are training those vigilantes by their wounded regulars. After a battle is fought in a certain place, the wounded are allotted to surrounding villages for treatment, and recuperation. During their stay in a village those wounded soldiers give military training to community's vigilantes. The subjects of the training are, however, only elementary ones such as handling a rifle, movements of a sentry, movements of an orderly, etc.

(d) Duties of Armed Civilians' Groups

(1) When enemy troops draw near the village, the vigilantes should inform the nearest Red Troops of it as soon as possible.

(In 晋冀鲁豫 Areas, in North China, a village has a duty to inform the villager on its three sides of enemy's approach)

(2) When commanders or high political leaders enter the village, vigilantes must stand sentry around the village. (In

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~~在城~~ Soviet District, women were on sentry during the day, and men, during the night.)

(3) Vigilantes should be guides of the troops in surrounding areas, and should transport munitions, food, and other military supplies to the next village.

(4) When Communist Army (be it Regulars or guerillas) engage the enemy in the neighbourhood, they should supply munitions, and food, carry the wounded to safer places, and when the action ends, they must clean the battle-field.

When the Japanese Forces clashed with C. C. Reds, they captured only small amount of arms considering the number of bodies left on the battle-field. It was because of the fact that those armed civilians, cooperating with the fighting Communists, even while the battle was still going on, picked up all the arms left by the retreating troops, as soon as the Japanese left the scene in pursuit of the Reds. If they had enough time, they even took away all the bodies left behind.

So, when the Japanese did not pay due attention to those armed civilians, they could not deal the Communists an effective blow. When armed civilians finish an elementary course of military training, the Communists order them to destroy roads or cut down telegraph poles, in order to let them gain confidence in themselves. Local Army unit directly directs these activities, and sometimes a small number of Regulars back and support these civilians' work.

In the North China, the Japanese telegraph lines were often cut by armed civilians. When the Japanese went out to repair them and asked the people around the spot what they saw and heard, they answered that the Communists had destroyed them, or that they were forced to cut them by the Reds. (They had been ordered to answer like that by the communists). The people had also been ordered

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to report the guerillas on the number, and the movements of the repairing squad. If the strength of the Japanese was small, a company or a smaller unit attacks the repairing squad.

Further military training is given armed civilians, making use of their fresh experience.

But the Communists are very cautious in sending out these armed civilians on a destroying mission. They only wait and wait for a chance. For the armed civilians' part, they feel themselves heroes in Communistic movements, especially when the people applaud their feat. They find the work they did so timidly and so easy to accomplish. And that makes them gain confidence in themselves, and make up their minds to take active part in a next guerilla fighting.

In 'Guerilla District' around "Enemy Dominated Area" (they called such the district wher the Japanese were predominant) the Communists formed a 'Joint Self-Defence System' of armed civilians.

In the North China, the 'Joint Self-Defence System' gathered information about the Japanese Army, and helped to transmit Communist orders to dangerous places, and watched closely spies, and other anti-red 'elements.'

When the 'Joint Self-Defence System' had become more well-equipped, they sometimes attacked the Japanese Garrison. They opened fire on the Japanese at night. As the strength of a garrison was generally small, it was almost impossible to make a sortie. The garrison could only return the fire.

Communists' attack directed by the 'Joint Self-Defence System' ended in an hour or so, in most cases, but as they fired at the garrison on all sides, the Japanese sometimes mistook them to be a large force.

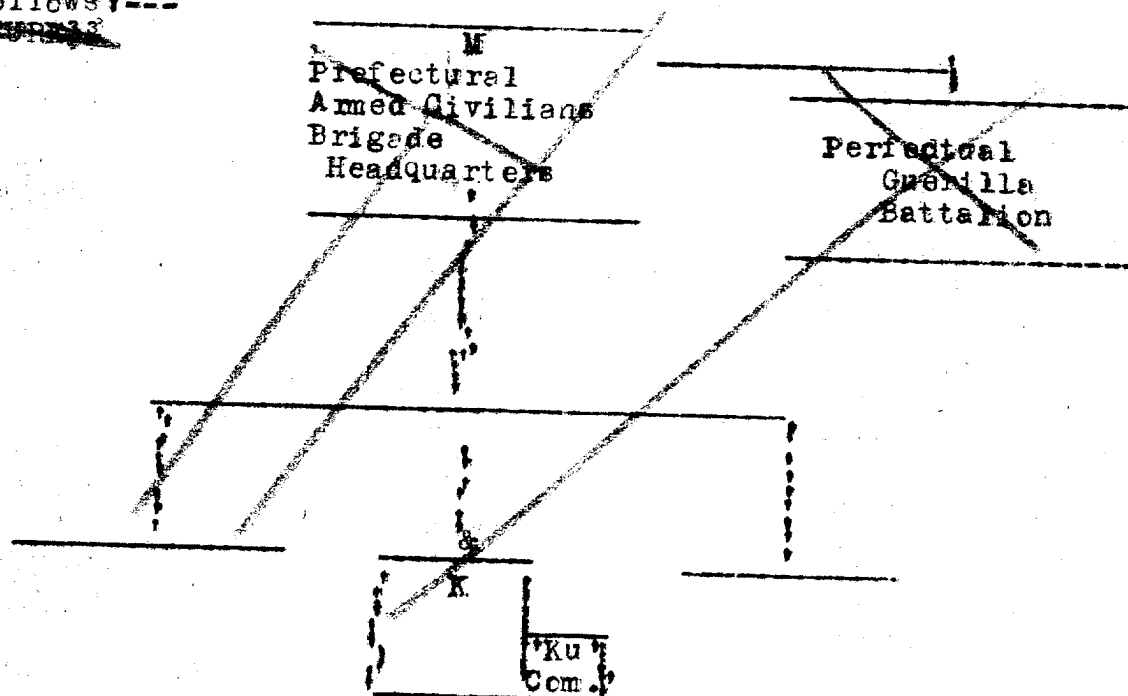
On the next day, the secret agents of the 'Joint Self-Defence System' supply the Japanese with false information, saying that a large

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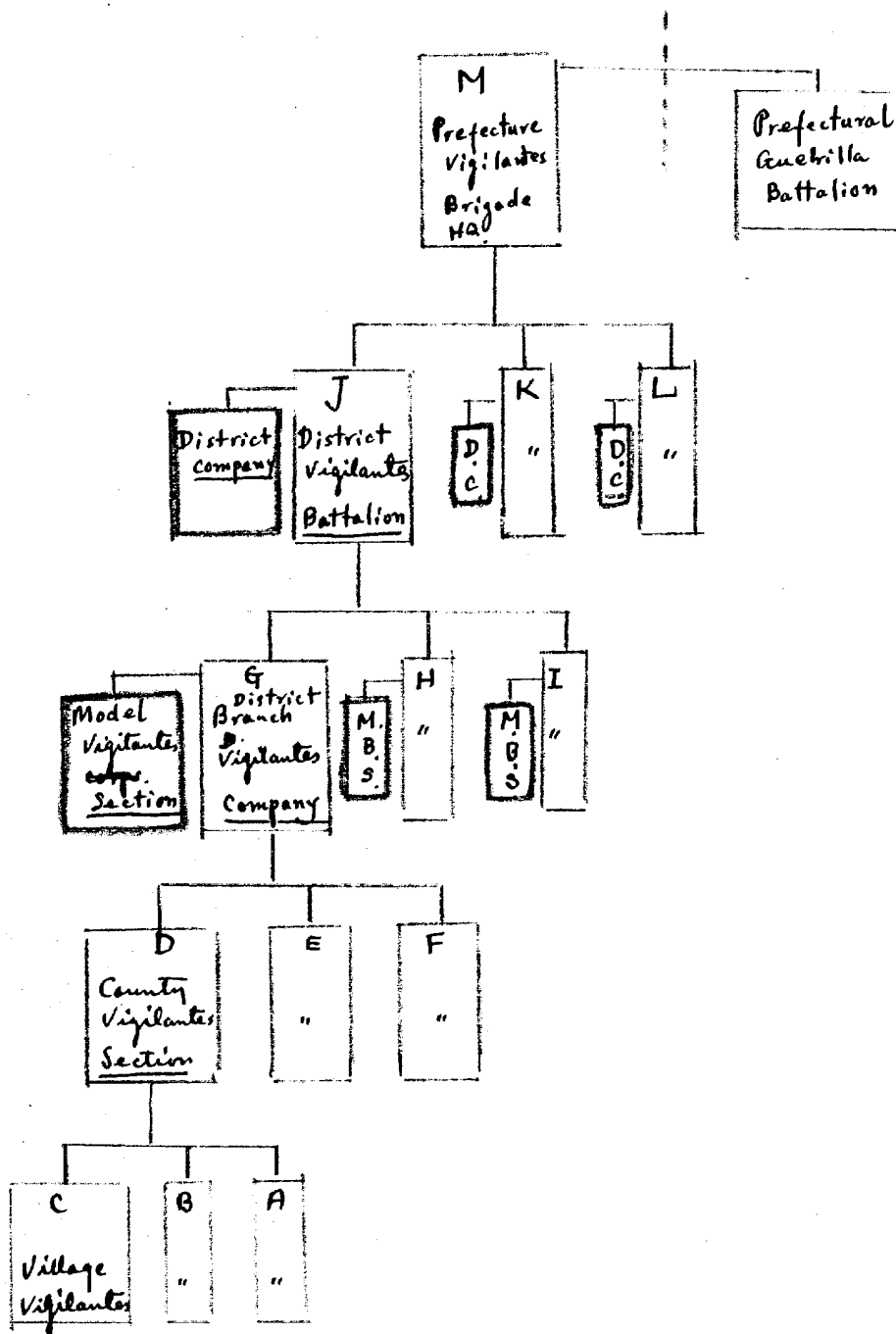
Communist force had come there the night before, for the purpose of disturbing mentally the Japanese Garrison. Sometimes they scattered handbills prepared by the Anti-War Japanese Society, and the Propaganda Section of the system, with the purpose of stimulating the Anti-War sentiments of the Japanese Troops.

The System of the Armed Civilians will be Illustrated as follows:---

~~PREFECTURE 33~~



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Note (a) Some say that the Prefecture Guerilla battalion, belongs to Armed Civilians' System and it cannot get into action independently.

(b) Sometimes the Prefectural Armed Civilians' Brigade, and Prefectural Guerilla battalion form a detachment, and take part in a campaign.

(c) The red line shows the members of the unit are professional soldiers.

7 THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RUSSIA'S PARTIZAN TROOPS AND CHINESE
(Sub title) COMMUNISTS' ARMED CIVILIANS TROOPS

Russian farmers are highly organized in 'Kolhoz's, and 'Sovhoz's, which makes Russian 'Partizan Troops' formidably powerful. But in China, there are no such agricultural organizations.

That is why, in Communistic movements in China, military organizing precedes political organizing. They have had no time to organize agricultural organizations, and then to organize partizan troops, as war has always been going on.

They are now making every effort to develop their armed civilians' military abilities. Their intention is to make these civilians Chinese Communist Regulars.

Note:----

Russian partizan corps is something like a Communist trained Chinese Militia Corps, and some guerilla troops combined.

We expect Chinese militia corps and guerilla troops will be combined into Regular Communist Army, in the near future, when their Communistic movements enter a new phase.

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3. The ~~Regime~~ Regime and the Western-North Migration

Soon after the Comintern's advice about the defects of the ~~the~~ 's course, the Party started to establish the fundamental base, and the re-organization of the Red Army. With regard to the duties of the Political Commissioner and the Leaders in the Party, they made clear about these Staffs' executive power and works. They also avoid the additional post of the Political Staff. Frankly speaking, many Political Staff were seemed to be the attached members to the Army. Because of the fact that the Army was not willing to cooperate with the Political Members and the lack of organic relation between these groups, the Political members were not much different from ordinary bandit chief who had joined the Army to gain his sphere of influence.

If the Red Army, forgetting their duty as the guard of the politics, takes their own way of doing as their power increases, the Party may be nothing but a local power, and may not become the big problem in China. When the Party established the sovietized region in ~~瑞金~~ and started the urgent political activities, the Red Army cooperated with them as much as possible.

At that time, the Central Executive Committee send the following orders to the Red Army, in conformity with the Comintern's notice.

(1) The Staff members of the Party in every district, specially the Staff in the sovietized region should realize the importance of their works, and has to have the deep understanding of the policies. These staffs should, after organizing people's groups against the enemy's anti-Communists campaign, engage the emancipation movement from the Imperialism, through the land revolution. Thus the Party shall absorb the many workers, gradually and orderly, and direct these members according to the order of the ~~Comintern~~ Comintern.

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(2) The leaders in the sovietized regions, in the central organs, and in the Red Army, under the direction of 朱 and 毛, should lead the combined activities of the Red Army, and the masses. We have to strengthen the Red Army militarily and politically so that the masses can rely upon them, and finally let the people to support the Army by all their means.

(3) Furthermore, expanding the partizan activity in the sovietized regions and the labor movement in the industrial centers, we should lead them to the right direction.

From the above notice, the reader may get the clear idea about the political aspect in general, the duties and military tactics of the Red Army, and their sovietizing policy. At that time, the Nationalist's campaign against military clique was temporarily stopped, and instead their anti-Communist's campaign was started. So, the main duty of the Red Army was to check up the latter activity, and to lead the local partizan troops. The operating area of the Red Army at that time was divided into the sovietized and the partizan regions; and accordingly the Red Army mainly engaged in the regular fighting in the sovietized forces, and the guerilla troops in the partizan warfare. The duties of the present Regular Army and Local Army originated in the above. And at the same time, we can trace up the origin of the present scattering and concentrating method in the above. Before the

operation, the Red Army used the scattering method with the division in its center, but in the 6th operation, they took up the concentrating method. The scattering method has the advantage to make the enemy lose its main target; while the concentrating method has the advantage to destroy the enemy completely. The former method should be used by the weak and small troops, and the latter by the strong and big forces.

They did not know these defect and advantages and used the latter method in the 長沙 operation with complete defeat.

At present, the Red Army uses the following method which resulted from their bitter experiences. At first, the guerilla troops throw the enemy into disorder, then the regular forces defeat them completely. In another words, they decided to use the mixed method of the scattering and the concentrating for stronger enemies with better results.

Now let us go back to the early stage of the Red army. At that time, the Red Army was composed of the pure farmers, and civilians of about 50,000. They taught them the Communistic ideas and the principles of the Red Army, as well as the military training. Since then, they solidified the inside and expanded outside limit of the Red Army; and until 1933 their approximate power had developed as follows:

江西

Central Soviet District---

6 Armies (4th; 5th; 8th; 12th; and 20th; Army)

1 Corps

1 Red Training Corps

Total number of soldiers ----- About 91,500

贛東

District-- 2 Corps, with about 23,000 soldiers.

贛北

District-- 1 Corps, with about 13,000 soldiers.

In April, 1933, the Red Army challenged the 陳誠 Army of the Nationalist Party, and won it before the actual fighting took place. (This battle is called the 4th operation of the Nationalist's Army against the Red Army.)

Six months after the 4th operation, 蔣介石 waged the 5th operation against the Red Army at 南昌. Prior to the actual fighting took place, the Nationalist Army had established the

Transfer of the Red Army
 石洞堡 and disconnected the central district of the Red Army from the Partizan District; so, the Red Army forced to give up the Central District, and began the westward movement in September, 1934. By the speedy chase of the Nationalist forces, they fled without any rest for 25,000 支里 to 陕西省, passing the western part of 湖南, 贵州, 云南, 四川, 甘肃, with scanty foodstuff but many sacrifices. In 陕北, they met 刘志丹, 徐海东, and in 陕西 met 贺龙, 萧克, and 徐向前. The total number of the soldiers, it is said, was about 20,000 ^{only}.

At this point, we will see what they learned from this westward migration. The long distant migration for 25,000 支里 is not only the hungry, and fatigue journey, but also it was ~~the~~ ^{the} result of the abandonest of their most important fundamental bases of 瑞金. The first of all, they felt the urgent necessity to cultivate patience and fighting spirit. In their battle against the Japanese troops, they showed the firm belief to stand any hardships without a word of complaining.

Secondly, they ~~formed~~ ^{used} out their ability to walk fast. It was not hard for them to walk for about 50 kilometers in a night. Thirdly, they got the confidence to fight in an unknown region, upon which their guerilla operations, in the Japanese occupied regions were based. Fourthly, they realized that the combined operations of the regular and partizan methods with fundamental bases were to main reason of their victory in the Nationalistic 1st to 4th operations. And fifthly, it is foolish to hold the fundamental bases until the last minute, and sixthly, it is better to avoid the sword-to-sword fighting. It is pretty for 蒋介石 whose troops left the live root of the opponent in 南昌 operation. If we describe here about the fruit of their westward migration.

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the Red Army had felt deeply the necessity of the alternative policy in order to avoid the direct clash with the Nationalist Army by all means. Thus, the Red Army formed the common front against the Japanese, through which they wanted to regain their lost regions as well as their further expansion. With the above intention, they developed the 西安 plot to the American-Japanese War. It was the Red Army who shattered the peaceful compromise between China and Japan, before the A.-J. War began. In other words, the C. C. Party made the re-start taking the chance of the C.-J. War, after their migration. Their experiences in the recent several years made them to take their own way of the "Red Revolution." So, the Chinese Red Army is not modeled after the Soviet Army, but is the true Chinese guerilla forces.

4. From the Red Army to the 8th Route Army.

After the Red Army established the sovietized districts in 陕甘宁, they still received constant attack from the Nationalist Army. And they felt the urgent necessity to change its policy. The new policy originated in the agenda of the 7th Comintern Conference which was held at Moscow, in the summer of 1935. In the establishment of the People's Government for National Defense, and the formation of the all China's anti-Japanese conference were emphasized. Even the Kuoming-Tang Army, the military clique, ^{and its members} bourgeoisers, and land-owners of the party if they only engage in the Anti-Japanese Campaign. To the outside world, they stretched their hands of cooperation, but they figured on Japan because of her Imperialism.

In order to form the all China front against Japan, the Party adopted the concerting policy, with the purpose to chase out the Japanese by using the Kuoming-Tang Party. In the beginning of the

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of the Chino-Japanese conflict, and after the second departure from Kuoming-Tang Party, the C. C. Party took the Anti-Kuoming-Tang policy using the Japanese influence. At that time, the C. C. Party insisted the following policy avoiding the direct clash with the Nanking Government.

As far as the Nanking Government and Kuoming-Tang mobilize the majority of its forces for the Red Army, and spend the most income for it, we Chinese can not do any preparation against the Japanese. Putting aside the minor problem, the C. C. Party and the Kuoming-Tang Party as well as the Nanking Government should shake hands for the sake of China as a whole.

Thus, after the 平津 Affair, and the 3rd All China Conference, the Marco Polo Bridge Incident happened, which developed to the Chino-Japanese Conflict, and then to the World War II.

From this time, they took up the aggressive steps. On Aug. 22, 1937, they changed the name of the "Soviet District" to the "Border Area", and called the Red Army as the "National Revolution the 8th Route Army" (so-called the 8th Route Army). However, they made a big failure here. It happened in September 1937, when they challenged the first time against the Japanese Army at 平津 (Pingjin), with best equipped and selected forces of about 3,000. Considering the Japanese Army to be similar with the Nanking Army, they made the direct attack which made them many bitter defeat in the past. This fighting resulted with the complete defeat of the 8th Route Army. Since then, they never tried to fight against the Japanese. Instead, they engaged in the guerilla operation, leaving the actual fight in the hand of the Kuoming-Tang Forces.

The total forces of the 8th Route Army at that period were about 70,000, consisting of the 115th D., 120th D. and 129th D.. The 129th D. stationed in 山西 (Shanxi), the 120th D. in 河北 (Hebei),

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and the 115th D. in 山東省. In the early stage of the 8th Route Army, 毛沢東 and 劉少奇 advised them to establish their foothold in mountain regions, and accordingly, the above stations were determined. These Armies had last not time to establish the Border Area ^{Army} in the above districts, and they ^{also} organized the District Army, with the remnants of defeated soldiers in the localities. The 120th D. established the 晉察冀 Border Area ^{Army} in the 五台 Range, 129th D. made the 晉冀予 Border Area ^{Army} in the 太行 Ranges, and the 115th D. made the 山東 Warfare Encourageing Committee in 秦山 Ranges. Under the 晉察冀 Border Area ^{Army}, there were 晉東, 晉南, 冀南, 魯西, 予也 Army Districts; and under the 晉冀予 Border Area ^{Army}, the 晉察冀, 冀熱察, 大西山, and 晉西北 Army Districts; and the 山東 had 蘇魯, 膠東, 冀魯 Army Districts. Until the end of 1941, they had, beside the above Regular Armies, Semi-Regular Armies of about 230,000. The General Headquarter of the 8th Route Army was located at Yenan, and the Front ^{North} Commanding Headquarters in 晉冀魯予 Border Area. With the 白雲南 Incident in 1942, the Party made the ^{4th} departure from the Kuoming-Tang, but they suffered little. Up to this time, the Party had developed to the stage of independent action, and they engaged mainly to regain their lost regions with guerilla in the Japanese occupied zones. When the 3rd International dissolved in 1943, the Party suffered little, because of their fixed policy "to go as they like."

The present force of the ^{8th Route Army} ~~C-C~~ Party is estimated about 1,200,000, and the sphere of influence spread over ^{冀南} 冀南, to 豫州 in the north to the northern part of ~~冀南~~ 冀南 in the south; in the North China, ^a All villages except the 閭錫山 Region, are under their control. These are the following Border

Area in the North China at present.----- The 晉綏陝甘寧 B.A.,
晉察冀 B.A., 冀予蘇 B.A. (the 山東
Warfare Encouraging Committee was reorganized) 晉冀魯予 B.A.,
and 冀熱遼 Army District under the direct control of the
North Bureau.

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Here we shall Describe what the 8th Route Army has
 ← been doing these Past Years.

In 1942, their Communistic Movements were steadily, and successfully progressing all over North China. The 120th D. moved from 晋察冀, 陕甘宁 Border Areas, and took charge of the defence of that region, and they even sent a contingent to 晋西北, to ^{open} a communication line.

Local Organizations could continue their activities without the help of any Regular Forces. Especially the developments of 冀中 Military Section was remarkable at that time, each Military District had 3 to 5 Militia Regiments, and in addition to that, 冀中 succeeded in forming a powerful Regular Regiment.

But a mopping-up-Reds Campaign on a large scale staged by the Japanese Army in 1941 lasting 3 years, had seemed almost to suffocate all the Communistic Movements in that Areas. In 1942 the Japanese Forces drove out the 冀中 Military Section troops away to 冀西 District, reducing the 8th Military District's Military strength to almost nothing. In 冀东 Campaign, the Japanese chased 冀东 Military District Corps, led by 李雲長 (nephew? or son? of 李大钊), far into the mountainous districts of 热河. At that time it was not too much to say that even a single Red could not be found in that region.

In the spring of 1943, the Japanese Forces destroyed all the Communists' Key Bases in 晋察冀 Border Areas, and bases of guerilla troops were ruined one by one by frequent Japanese 'Punitive' expeditions.

But throughout these campaigns the Japanese Army took almost no notice of those civilians' organizations formed by Communist

leaders. (The Japanese had no hostility toward the Chinese civilians so that they thought that the full-members of the Party had been rooted out, and the civilians organizations could be remained unimpaired) In 1943, a considerable number of Japanese Troops were sent to other war areas, and the strength of the Japanese Army in North China showed a great decrease.

Availing themselves of the consequent inactivity of the Japanese, the Communists regained in their influence and succeeded in reestablishing their bases.

While dodging the thrusts of the Japanese Army, they accomplished many achievements. They supported the Mohammedan insurrection in the North West (西北), and with their help opened the North West Route, and extended the 平西北 Route further out to Outer Mongolia. 昭吉's 120 D. and several other troops took charge of accomplishing the task.

In Shantung (山东) Province they succeeded in keeping in communication with the New 4th Route Army, and in opening a secret communication line between the Manchurian Communist Party (1943) and the Communists in Shantung. For the purpose of keeping in touch with the Communists in Manchuria, they established many Communist bases along the coastlines of 山东 and 辽东 Peninsulas.

Being pursued by the Japanese troops, the Communists in 冀东 Districts moved in 热河 Province, where they started Sovietizing 热河 and neighboring counties of 锦州.

Establishing connections with the Communist remnants in 辽东 Province, and 东边道 Area, they endeavored to solidify their new bases and enlarge their new spheres of influence.

As described above, they always continued their Communists

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movements in some places even if they were in a very difficult situation.

When the Japanese Army started a campaign in order to occupy the whole 京漢 Railway Zone in 1944, they formed a 予西 Detachment in 晋冀鲁豫 Border Areas, and ordered the detachment to make preparations for a campaign in 予南 Districts.

The 359th Division moved southward and succeeded in coming in touch with the 5th Division of the New 8th Route Army, and started sovietizing the 京漢 Railway Zone.

The 8th Route Army also sent a number of able Communist leaders and some troops to 浙江 Province to help the activities of the New 4th Route Army.

o THE NEW 4th ROUTE ARMY

When all the Regular Red Forces in Middle China moved northward to join the newly formed 8th Route Army, the outside world thought that the Communists in Central China has then no military power. But even after 嬰秋白 was captured, 華程, 碩英 and several other military leaders had still small units under their command, and groups of Communist Remnants, remained here and there resisting Kuoming-Tang's Pressure.

Those who had surrendered themselves to the Kuoming-Tang when Generalissimo Chang-Kai-Shek's fifth Army mopping-up-Reds movement was going on, were all put to death. The Nationalists killed not only the Communists but also the sympathizers of the Party. (It is true though—that the Nationalists gave political education to the Communist prisoners.)

So they knew that it would be far safer to form bandit troops than to surrender themselves to the Kuoming-Tang. The number of these Communist Remnants and Communist bandits was,

we estimate, over 20,000.

When the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937, the Regular Red Troops in Central China moved into North China and joined the New National-Revolutionary 8th Route Army. Yen-an ordered the remaining Red Forces in Central China to cooperate with the Kuoming-Tang in its war against Japan.

And at the end of 1937, 项英 began organizing the New 4th Route Army. But, though an agreement on Kuoming-Tang-Communist Collaboration had been reached, Generalissimo Chang-Kai-Shek did not stop mopping Communists in Central China, and on the Communists' part, they were ignorant of international relations and were wanting in National spirit.

They could hardly believe that such an agreement had ever been reached between the Kuoming-Tang and the Communist Party. And, though they wanted to go to the place for assemblage, appointed by 项英, Kuomintang's pressure prevented them from doing so.

According to 项英's original plan, the New 4th Route Army had been to be organized at 南昌, but it was at 屯溪镇, and in January of 1939, that they finished organizing the New 4th Route Army.

The strength of the Army, it was said, was some 10,000.

The Army consisted of 5 columns, and each column had the same task, harassing the rear of the Japanese Army. As the Communists had known the fighting strength of the Japanese Troops by experience, and the new troops were not well-trained, they attacked the Japanese only when guerilla tactics would be effectual.

These columns were ordered to begin their activities in the districts surrounding 棠陽.

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But they avoided clashed with the Japanese troops, and were active only in political movements. They moved steadily toward 上海 and 浙江 Province.

But the Nationalists, knowing very well the true intention of the Communists' movement, formed the 忠義救國軍, Save-the-Nation Corps, which, directed by 戴笠, held up the Communists' advance toward these areas.

Being held in check by the 忠義救國軍 Corps, and being pressed by the Japanese Army, they moved northward along the Grand Canal via 蘇州 and 鎮江, following the track of the Japanese forces who were then pursuing the Nationalist Army toward 大別山. They advanced further northward along the 津浦 Railway, until some of them came in contact with the 8th Route Army. They had set up their spheres of influence in 江蘇, 安徽, and 浙江

江蘇 Provinces, and were extending, these Communist Dominated Areas. And in many places they clashed with the Nationalists. To avoid such clashes, Generalissimo, Chang-Kai-Shek prohibited Communists to stay in Central China, and ordered them to move into North China, and cooperate with the 8th Route Army.

According to Generalissimo Chang-Kai Shek's order, the New 4th Route Army began to advance northward in January of 1941. And while they were staying near 蘇林村 (A village in the south of 涇陽) they were enveloped by the Chinese Anti-Communist Forces, and nearly 7000 were annihilated, only 2000 or 3000 succeeding in extricating themselves from that place. In the battle, 項英 was killed, and 李振, captured. Being informed of this incident, The Central Executive of the C. C. P., sent 劉少奇, an influential follower of 毛澤東, to central China, in order to reorganize the New 4th Route Army, and to reconstruct its bases.

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0 The Central Executive gave the following instruction to the leaders of the New 4th Route Army.

(1) A military leader, especially a leader who take charge of an isolated area, should judge everything for himself. And his judgment should be strictly based on principles, that have been given him by the Central Military Committee, and the Central Executive Commission.

Every member should get rid of heroism. Especially so when he is a military leader.

(2) Communist members should expect many difficulties in their war against the Japanese, and in their Anti-Japanese racial front movements. They should take lessons from this incident, and should be prepared for the next attack, both military and politically.

(3) The all leaders of the "Local parties" and the 4th Route Army should make every member know these instructions.

The Central Executive expects that the errors in the theories of Chinese Revolution would be discussed and explained in the Seventh All-China Soviet Congress.

Accordingly the New 4th Route Army abandoned all the 項英's policies in their movements.

項英 had once been a follower of 李三三, and though he proved to a very able military organizer, in forming the New 4th Army, he often proceeded against the Central Executive's Directions.

陳毅, new acting commander of the 4th Route Army and 張雲逸, new assistant commander, reorganized the remnant troops into 7 divisions, and began reconstructing Soviet Districts in Central China.

In the following year, at the first Communists' Assembly

for Expansion Movement in Central China, 刘少奇^{Ch} pointed out the errors that had been made by the old 4th Route Army.

They extended their political movements to many districts, without making due efforts to solidify their bases. He emphasized the importance of "Encouraging 3 Discipline", and demanded the leaders of the 4th Route Army to reconsider their attitude toward farmers, in their political movements.

Making use of these instructions and their experiences the 8th Route Army got in their clashes with the Japanese Army.

陈毅 reorganized, and retrained the New 4th Route Army and reorganized the columns into as follows:

<u>Name of Division</u>	<u>Commander</u>	<u>Political Commission</u>	<u>Chief of the Political Section</u>
The 1st Div.	栗裕 Li Yu	刘 夫 Liu Fu	钟期先 Chung Kuo-hsien
The 2nd "	张云逸 Chang Yun-yi	邓位三 Deng Wei-san	郭述申 Kuo Shu-shen
The 3rd "	黄克诚 Huang Ke-cheng	同左 Tung Tso	吕文王 Lu Wen-wang
the 4th "	彭雪枫 Peng Hsueh-feng		萧望东 Hsiao Wang-tung
The 5th "	李先念 Li Hsien-nien		任弼斌 Jen Pih-pin
The 6th "	谭震林 Tan Chen-lin		何克希 Ho Ke-hsi
The 7th "	张鼎丞 Chang Ting-chen		曾希圣 Tseng Hsi-sheng

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When reorganizing was finished, they abandoned the 22 皖 Districts, and concentrated their power in reconstructing Communist bases in 22 苏 Provinces. They built their principal bases near 洪泽 Lake, and 高邮湖, and in 1942, they succeeded in keeping close touch with the 8th Route Army in the 淮北 Districts.

The New 4th Route Army shows much inferiority or backwardness in its organization and ways of political movements, as compared

with the 8th Route Army.

They are now following the course which the 8th Route Army found 8 years ago-----they are now engaging in such movements as, "3-3 Policy",

"Encouraging three Discipline" -

"Raise-the-Standard-of-Military-Training".

"Oath of Allegiance to Cooperate Between civilians and Soldiers"

Before the reorganization of the 4th Route Army, the Communists in Chentral China did not make due effort in increasing the number of bases in guerilla districts, and neglected to make the military organizations of the people, more highly organized, and better trained. So their guerilla fightings were seldom successful.

They did not force the Chinese Local Administrative Organs to reconstruct themselves on a Communistic line, and the result was that they could not combine effectually the strengths of the Party, the Chinese Administration, the Army, and the Civilians.

But we must admit that after the reorganization, the political movements of the New 4th Route Army are steadily progressing and the Communists in Central China are gaining in influence.

In January of 1945, the 359th Brigade of the 220th D. moved from 山西 Province into 鄂 豫 Border Areas, and is now cooperating with the 5th Div. in their political movements.

A contingent of the New 4th Army advanced southward and began new activities., in the east part of 浙江 Province, and around Shanghai, the economic supporter of the Kuomintang.

The southward advance of the 359th in the 鄂 豫 District

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attracted much attention of the public, but their true intention was to occupy the ^{Shanghai} 3rd 12 Province by underground movements. For this purpose, they secretly, ordered a considerable number of troops in ^{Shanghai - Kiangsu - Honan} 魯蘇豫 Districts, to move into 3rd 12 Province.

Last year the 4th Div. advanced Northward along the Railway and in July of that year they came in contact with the 5th Div. Thus the 5th Div. which had been isolated from the 4th Army up to that time, was able to communicate with the headquarters of the New 4th Route Army.

The New 4th Route Army is now building Communists bases like those the 8th Route Army had constructed in their early stages of Communistic Movements in North China.

They now occupy a large part of fertile areas in 22 ^{Kiangsu} 蘇, and 3rd 12 ^{Shanghai} Province, and are steadily expanding their spheres of influence throughout other areas.

We must here add the fact that, the New 4th Route Army had to overcome any difficulties in building up powerful Communistic Bases on account of incessant attacks made by the Nationalistic Partizan troops. But by the end of the War, they had become powerful enough to drive out Nationalists in some towns, and build their bases in those places.

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予鄂皖湘贛 Border Area and the 5th Division.

As the New 4th Army is not so advanced as of the 8th Route Army, the 5th D. Army is also not so advanced as of the New 4th Army. Consequently the 5th D. Army is at the lowest stage of development in the C. C. Army. The 8th Route Army had experienced many battles against the Japanese, beside their westward migration to Yenan, and they also are located at the better position to receive the order of the Central organs. But the New 4th Army had been in the same stage of the 紅軍 Period until 刘少奇 was despatched to the Central China Bureau. Originally, the 5th D. was organized with the remnants of the N. 4th Army, in the 鄂湘贛 Districts, after the Japanese occupation of 武漢 Districts. So they are still young and have not much training. However, the main reason of their under development may be found in their lack of organizing ability. Frankly speaking, the 5th D. is seemed as if nothing but bandit troops, when we compare them with the 8th Route Army.

The 5th D. was originally organized in 1939, when the Japanese forces occupied the 武漢 Districts. 李先念 who had then some influence in 予南 Districts, came out from his foothold at 竹溝 and organized the remaing defeated 紅軍 soldiers, and civilians in 光山, and established his head-Quarter at 白兆山, naming the troop as the "予鄂 Guerilla troop". We are not sure of the total number of the soldiers, but it may be more than 2,000, we presume. In the Autumn of 1939, the 5th D. established the 予鄂 Border Area, and changed the name to the "予鄂 Forwarding Corps." Then they annexed the 羅厚福's bandits forces which went in the Northern part of 襄南, and increased the number to about 8,000. During these

period, they endeavored to get the soldiers, and changed the name to the "5th Branch Corps", which was originally one branch troop in the N. 4th Army, and at the first time ^{they} got their position among the Regular Army.

Their guerilla areas were along the 襄河, where 賀龍 used to operate, and the west side of the 京漢 R. R. around 應城, 應山, 信陽 Districts. They had developed normally, without any incidents to be mentioned. But in 1941, their operating bases at 大悟山, and 秦山 (the central point was 白兆山) were overrun by the Special Corps of the Nationalist Army, and they were forced to move their bases to 大悟山. After a while, again, they gave up the 大悟山 Base, because of the Japanese Anti-Communists Campaign. Since 鄭位三 came from the Central China Bureau, and assisted their movements as well as to reorganize the organization. Consequently, their sphere of influences expanded greatly, spreading all over the Southern side of the Yangtze River, and over a part of 鄂東 District. Up to 1943, their guerilla areas spread over 24 prefectures, but they were so positive in their movement, that they only were eager to keep their former sphere. Taking the advantage of the Japanese invasion to 武漢 District, and their 桂湘 operation along the 粵漢 R. R. they started to enlarge their guerilla area. After a while, they expanded their areas to 信陽, in the North, and to 平江 in the South.

Their underground movements were done so nicely that no one knew what they were doing. They at first, organized the masses, then they armed some of these people, with the purpose to use them in guerilla activity. The total force at that time was about 25,000, and beside many vigilantes in various prefectures, and the

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dispatched Regular Army to prefectures ^{where} were allowed to act with the 5th D.. Thus they had become strong enough to fight against the Special Corps of the Nationalist Army. In January, 1945, the 359 B. of the 8th Route Army joined the 5th D. and their position in the C. Army was established firmly.

Here, they decided their policies on guerilla and political activities. They improved the military training as well as cultural advancement; and they also solidified the guerilla troops under their control. They planned the outside activities in that spring, changing the defensive policy to the offensive one, and aimed to regain their lost bases. So, the 5th D. in this year is far more advanced in every respect.

In order to regain their former bases, and to make connection with ^{the} 7th Branch Corps, and 4D., the 359 B., and the 14th B. ^{which} came from the South, and the so-called "Best 13th B." with various mixed troops advanced from the North, under ^{李先念} 's command. Thus, not only they regained their former bases, but also they expanded tremendously. Until March, 1945, their guerilla areas spread over 48 prefectures instead of former 24 prefectures, and after three months (July, 1945,) it increased to 89 prefectures; while their army had increased to 7 Division.

- o The Combined Operating Policy of New 8th Route And The N. 4th Armies.

The C. C. Central Conference which was held in 1945 took up the following resolutions.

The Areas to be developed ^{Communist} in future are Manchuria, and ^{浙東} District.

^{吾等黨} Border Area Army selects the able staffs, and let them cooperate with ^{軍事進} Military District to regain

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the lost regions in Manchuria, and at the same time, the above Border Area Army should reinforce the latter district during the activity.

晉察魯 ^{Handwritten: Shan-chung} Border Area Army should send the strong ^{EX} 予西 ^{Handwritten: West} Expeditionary Forces to 予西 District, and taking the cooperative movement with the 5th D. of the N. 4th Army, shall advance to 冀 ^{Handwritten: Heilongjiang} District. 魯蘇 ^{Handwritten: Shandong} Border Area Army should give necessary assistance to the 江 ^{Handwritten: Jiang} Branch Troops of the N. 4th Army in 蘇浙 ^{Handwritten: Jiangnan} District.

The N. 4th Army, engaging the expansion movement in 江 ^{Handwritten: Jiang} District, should prepare to advance to the 閩 ^{Handwritten: Fujian} District, after transferring the forces of 浙 ^{Handwritten: Zhejiang} Districts to 浙 ^{Handwritten: Zhejiang} District. Let the N. 4th Army advance quickly from 皖 ^{Handwritten: Anhui} to 予南 ^{Handwritten: South} Districts, with the purpose to connect the 5th D. in 予南 District, then let the 5th D. make connection with the 4th D. and the 予南 Branch Troops; and taking the chance, the 5th D. should attack the "Third War District Army of the Nationalist" from the rear, which stand against our 浙 ^{Handwritten: Zhejiang} Troops.

In order to advance to the 冀 ^{Handwritten: Heilongjiang} District, the former 冀 ^{Handwritten: Heilongjiang} District Commission will be promoted to the Special District Com. and place it under the direct control of the Central China Bureau.

The South China Bureau should establish the 珠 ^{Handwritten: Zhu} Army Branch District after the annexation of various forces, around 廣 ^{Handwritten: Guangdong} District.

From the above policy the reader may understand the importance of the expansion of the 予 ^{Handwritten: Green-Hat} , and 浙 ^{Handwritten: West} Districts. Though it was described in the above, the reader may foresee the Southward movement of the 359B. in order to expand the South China Bureau.

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CHAPTER —

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE C.C. ARMY

When we speak of the C. Army, we mean the Regular C. Army, and the quality of the Regular Army differ greatly from the semi-regular army, and other field armies.

According to duties, we can classify them into the field forces and the guerilla forces.

(A) The Field Forces--- This is the troop we usually call the Regular Army, and stationed at important points, with no limit of activities. It is a problem whether the N. 4th Army should be placed in the category of the Regular Army or not. The N. 4th Army usually engage in the guerilla warfare in order to protect the political activities, and very seldom goes into the field fighting. They also stationed at various ^{army} ~~military~~ districts and ^{army} ~~military~~ branch districts. So we believe that the 115th D. and the 129th D., and the 129th D. of the 18th Army only should be called as the Regular Army. The Regular Army stationed in various Border Areas, and acts as Border Area Army, which formation is 3B's, and 9R's.

Now, suppose one field division is dispatched to the operating region. This Field Division place the Army Branch Forces (guerilla troop) of the region under their command, and employ the mixing operation tactics. To understand this policy we will describe the following actual expemples. In the ^{South Hubei} ~~鄂南~~ District the 359B. commanded the 14B. which had the duty of the Army Branch Forces, and 毛震, the Commander of the 359B. commanded their activities in ^{鄂湘} ~~鄂湘~~ Districts. The political leader in the above was 王若运. In case a Division is dispatched the talented political Staff is sent together ^{with it}, and the Field

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guerrilla troops. By the semi-Regular Army, we mean the Army District Forces and district branch forces. Being the duty to protect the political activities in the Army District, they move by the unit of regiment (sometimes moves by battalion according to situations), and act as the back foothold for the guerilla troop of a prefecture. In case there is no guerilla troop in a prefecture, they act as guerilla troops. Though a guerilla troops was formed, but if they are not trained enough to engage independent activity, then a part of the semi-Regular Forces and some Staff were dispatched to establish the commanding Headquarters in order to command them directly.

For example, the 羅礼支 Commanding Headquarters commanded the guerilla troops of 羅山, 礼山, and 礼山 Prefectures; and the 固锦林泥 Commanding Headquarters commanded the guerilla troops of 固山, 锦水, 锦城, 锦山 Prefectures.

The Army District Branch Forces was modeled from the mountain Range Division of U. S. S. R., and have several Regiments, a Special Garrison Battalion, and a Special Company Battalion, under their direct command. The formation of a regiment differ by the "Greater" and the "Smaller" Regiment; the former is composed by three Battalions like the Regular Army, with about 1,500 to 2,000 soldiers; the latter have 3 to 5 companies, beside one special company, with 500 to 1,500 soldiers.

[Note]

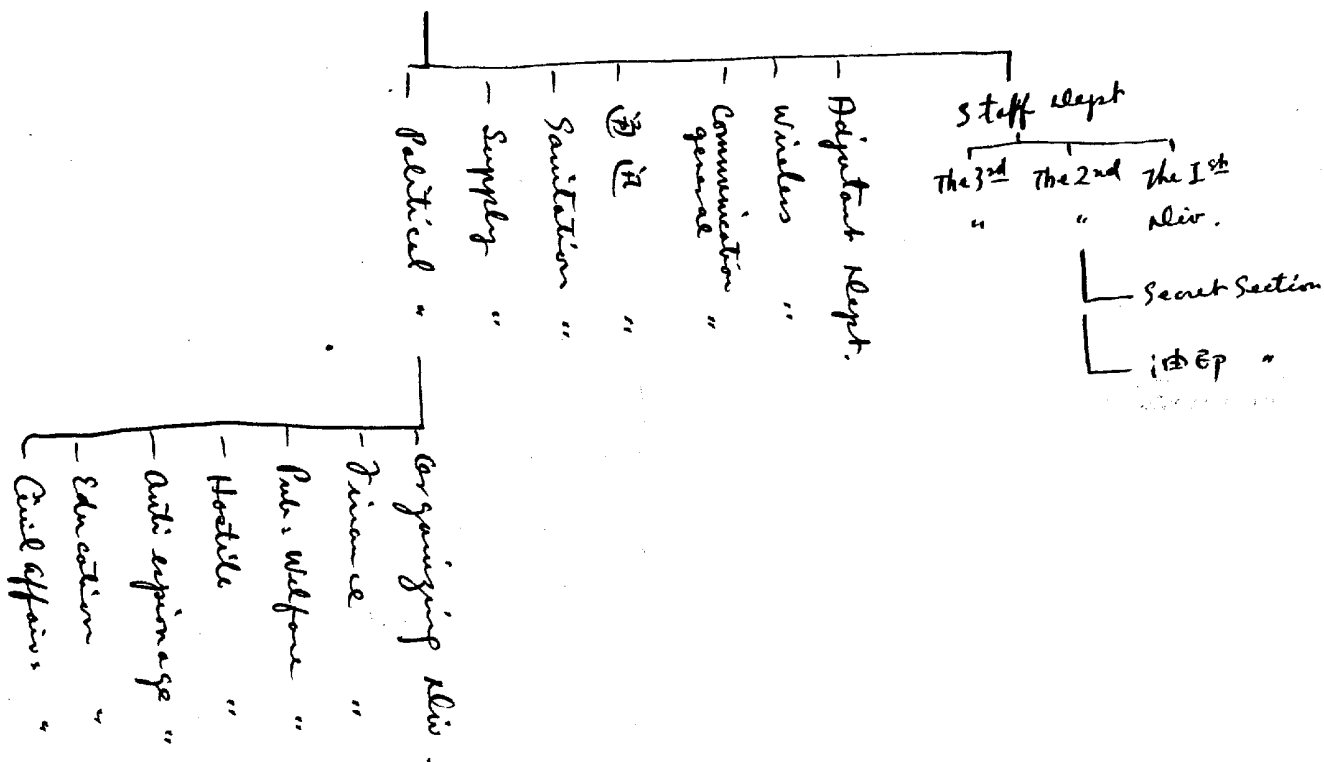
(a) The Special Garrison Battalion in the troop to guard the Headquarters directly, and is made up of several companies.

(b) The Special Battalion if formed by a 通讯 Company, a Scouting Company, a 侦察 Company, and a Communication Company.

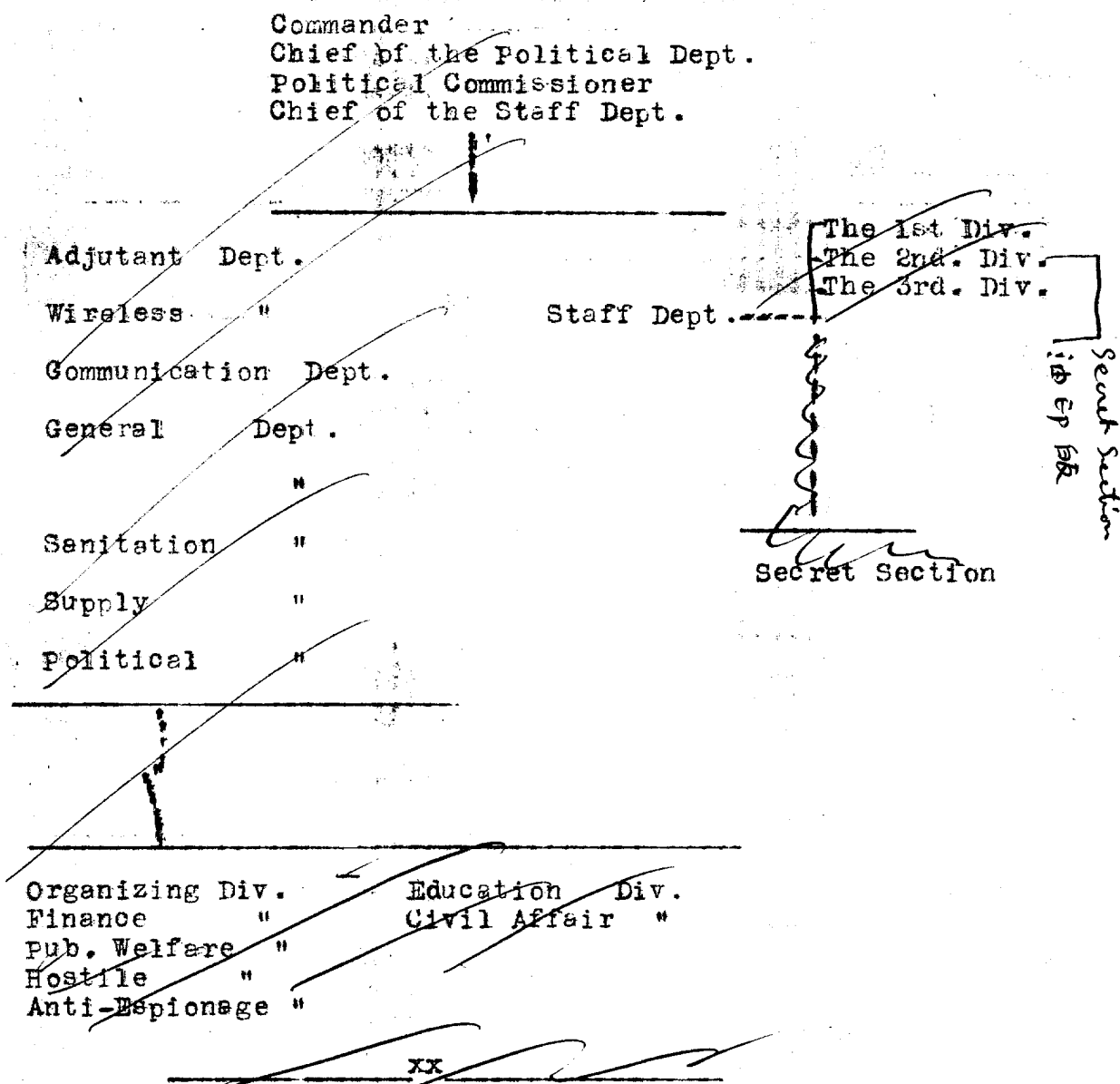
The Following is the illustration of the Headquarters' Formation.

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Commander
 Chief of the Political Dept.
 Pol. Com.
 Chief of Staff Dept.



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There is no limit of personnel in the Headquarters, but generally 100 to 200 are working there.

Formally the Army Headquarters and the Political Office were separated; but finding out the intimate relation between these offices, they were placed in the same place later.

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o Local Armouring.

The guerilla troops in prefecture is called the Local Armouring which is the only power the political organ controls. There may

be some discussion whether this group should be included in the Communist Army or not, but ^{here} ~~there~~ we will describe them as Local Guerilla Troops.

The formation and ^{size} ~~scale~~ of this troop differ greatly according to the condition of prefectures, but generally they have the strength of one to two companies of the semi-Regular Army, and are formed by 3 Companies, with the total number of about 200.

Their duties are to protect the political activity of a prefecture, and to guard the larger forces than the semi-Regular Army. Their tactics are purely guerilla activity, and fight very seldom against the very weak enemy. So, they engage the military operation with the cooperation of the semi-Regular Army, or attack upon the small force, with cooperation of vigilantes under the district company. They usually walk around and educate the vigilantes in the prefectures. In the prefectural guerilla battalion, there is political commissioner who usually take the additional post of the political commissioner in the battalion.

O The Guerilla-Like Quality of the C. C. Army

The guerilla method of the C. C. Army is far different ^{from} ~~that~~ that of U. S. S. R. The C. C. Army seldom attack on enemy's force, while the Soviet Partizan use the combined method. The main duties of the Soviet Partizan are to collect information, and to disturb the enemy's occupied region; and the duties of the C. C. Army are to create the weak point through the disorder and to guard the political activities by whole troops. The Soviet's Partizan is made out of the masses, while the C. C. Army have a separate troops of masses who engage only to collect information, and to distract various items. The C. C. Guerilla Troops had developed from mass ~~or~~ ^{SECRET} organization to armed organization, and then to the present stage. So, if we want to clean up the guerilla troops, we have to ^{we} ~~we~~

out the mass organization which is charge to collect informations, and then should give the fatal blow to the Local Armouring.

In other words, when we go to subjugate the gurilla troop, we are in their network of information from the starting point. Every step of our action will be reported to their Headquarters, from it the report goes to the higher organization and finally it reaches to the Regular Army or the semi-Regular Army Headquarters. The principle of their guerilla operation is as follows:

When the enemy advances, we have to retreat; and ^{when} the enemy retreat, we advance. The strength of the opponent is greater than ours, then we disturb them and attack upon the opponents' weak point.

毛沢東 Explained the guerilla tactics as follows:

Though we can give the enemy the big blow through the well planned activity, we should avoid the fight which gave us great damage as well. The object of the guerilla tactics is not to destroy the opponent completely, but it is throw the opponent into disorder. Thus, we have to beat them to the utmost, throw the concentrating tactics at the last stage of our counter-attack.

We can classify the development guerilla tactics into three stages.

The first stage was that of the Japanese penetration to the interior districts. The tactics to be used in this stage is to avoid the clash by all means, and to try to gain the fundamental bases. The second one is the stage to stand against the Japanese. In this stage, they had established their bases in the Japanese occupied zones and their power is strong enough to stand against the Japanese. The disturbance and disorder are their objects of guerilla operation, pushing the Japanese back to the area of their garrison or along highway, or railway, and prepare for the last counter-attack.

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The third stage is that of the counter-attacking. In this stage they have to chase out the Japanese from China, changing the tactics from the scattering to concentrating.

We can understand the first and the second stages, but hardly the third stage. However, their view to change the tactics from the guerilla to concentrating, and their eagerness to approach the third stage should be noticed in the above. Perhaps, they may reach to the third stage, when the guerilla formed the field army with more trained, and much better armed than the present Regular Army.

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CHAPTER

THE EXPANDING POLICY OF THE C. C. PARTY

We will describe briefly about the expanding policy of the guerilla area which has intimate relation with organic system of the Party.

(1) The Expansion of Guerilla Area

The preparation to enlarge the guerilla area is made by the Staff Member of the Party with the material they collected during the preceeding year, thinking together with the strength of the Party. After the decision was made, the active members are dispatched to the region. In a prefecture, the Staffs of the prefecture and the dispatched members consult upon the actual policy to be taken, then these members hold the (Conference of the Prefectural Staffs) which composed by the army, political, and public welfare commissioners, and they decide upon the duties of each group. If it is concerned, the army, the dispatching of reinforcement, the important region of the guerilla activity, the connection with political activities, and other various militaristic matters were discussed, and decided. The political organ discuss the ways and means of the political activities, such as the mobilization of farmers in the Spring, and Autumn, the organization of tip-groups, and the like. The agenda of the political activity is then presented to the council of the prefecture, and for decision. The main object of their activities will be the weakening of the enemy's political power, the stimulation of the masses' reliance on the Party, and the similar matters. As to the means for the above, the political organs utilize the propaganda, educational, as well as the civil movements; and they decide their policies.

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Upon these resolutions, the Party Staffs send the notice to the lower organs than the Branch Party Commission, and direct these organs to gain the public opinion in the concerned regions.

With regard to the military training, they do it in the winter, when the farmers are not much busy, and arm and organize these and train them in the next spring. On the other hand, they start their expanding activity in the virgin region during this period. Their policy to the farming region is usually the abundant distribution of fertilizer and adequate distribution of labor, with the cooperation of the Joint Association and the prefecture government. They also lend the capital, agricultural tools, cows, and the like. So, the trained farmers support the activities of the Party by cutting off the telephone wires, and the destruction of bridge and railroads, and they also assist the guerilla tactic in their localities. Sometimes, certain number of the Regular Army is dispatched to the region to help the movement. This activities in the spring becomes the barometer of their guerilla movement in the coming autumn. Then what do they do in the summer?

During the summer, the preparation of the grain collection is made, chasing out the enemy's influence by military activity. Because of the military activity, we sometimes mistake the movement as the expanding movement, but in fact it is the preparation for their coming guerilla activity.

At this time, they check up the enemy's activity only inside its garrison area. When the enemy start the subjugation movement, they scatter; and the enemy's force at a garrison is weak, then attack it. Very often they spread the false information to deceive the enemy; and sometimes they utilize the "anti-War League" to weaken the enemy's fighting spirit.

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When the harvest time come, they concentrate their effort to the harvest, and disregard the military and guerilla activities. The political as well as the public welfare organs do their best for the the harvest, and only the Regular Army continue their action of camouflage. When the harvest ends, their sphere of influence is usually increased.

On the other hand, the pioneer group in the virgin regions, endeavours themselves to organize the masses until the summer, and then assist the guerilla movement during that period, with the aim to get the masses reliance. These regions will be under their influence completely by the next year.

The above expanding policy was induced from their activities in Central China, and may differ in other district according to its locality, and circumstances. In short, they take the harvest time as the best opportunity for expansion, and they prepare for it from the preceeding winter.

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CHAPTER THE CONCLUSION

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Within the recent 20 years, the C. C. Party advanced and developed as we see in the foregoing, through their own experiences and the objective guide of U. S. S. R. They had made many mistakes, but never done them again. Taking the chances and opportunities for their improvements and betterments, they have become the present stage, and attract the world's attention upon their goings.

The conflict between China and Japan which was waged by them with the aim to avoid the direct clash with the Kuoming-Tang came to the end, and the time to stand face to face with the Kuoming-Tang comes back. These two parties may reach to the sectional compromise, but never come to the hearty union; and the same conflicts may be continued as before. No one can predict the quick shakehands, nor disunion at this moment, but we think that the direct clash of these parties will not take place.

Though the C. C. Party enlarged their power tremendously, they are not powerful enough to challenge the KuomingTang, yet.

With the purpose to gain the popularity, they direct their policies to this direction. So, to regard them as the germ among the people is to give them the best opportunity to expand its power. The masses under their control are living the emancipated new life. (It may not be so, but the people think so.) We, therefore, have no objection to their policies. But what they will do after they get the veins of all China? As far as the Chinese content with the C. C. Policies, and organize

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their communistic communities without disturbing the world peace, it may be all right. However, we can not imagine that the scanty theory of the Chinese Communists Party can form such idealistic society. It is the Chinese masses to judge the policies of the C. C. Party, to to discover their ambitions.

At present, the penetrating movement of Communism from the Central Asia is coming to India through Iran, and they are planning the enlargement of the Hindu Communist Party. In case the C. C. Party shake hands with the Oriental Communist Party at the French Indo-China and the Malay Peninsula, and then connect with the Hindu C. Party, we have to anticipate the Soviet Orient. Then the ambition of the C. C. Party will come to surface. The power of the Oriental C. Party is very weak at present, and resembles as that of the C. C. Party in 1930. We have to watch their development carefully.

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